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JAMES I: MONARCHIAL REPRESENTATION AND ENGLISH IDENTITY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
the Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

by

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B.A., Auburn University, 2012
M.A., University of Alabama, 2015
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For my family.

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Abstract

This work unpacks James's representational performance and the issues he faced in assimilating himself into English identity during his time on the English throne. He implemented tropes he previously utilized in Scotland, presenting himself as Solomon, David, Constantine, a philosopher-king, and *Rex Pacificus*. James relied upon print for his public representation, he was an avid writer and seems to have thought of himself as something of a theologian, for he frequently commented upon religious doctrine and paid acute attention to sermons. This dissertation explores his entrance to England, the union debates, the Gunpowder Plot and its remembrance, James's religious representation, his struggles with Parliament over prerogative, the Thirty Years War, and the representation of his first-born son, Henry Frederick. This project addresses a gap in historiography, as James's reign often falls into the shadow of the English Civil War, and his reign is frequently depicted as failing to live up to the standard that Elizabeth left behind, as in her death remembrance of her was mythologized. There has been little done which addresses James's struggle to make himself more English and his representational performance in the manner which is done so here. The contours of Englishness explored in this work are patriotism, providence, and identity. This work argues the English Reformation and proceeding years heavily influenced English conceptions of who they were as a country and popular consciousness as it expressed itself through a variety of print mediums, plays, songs, essays, and other forms of cultural expressions. In addressing these issues, we gain a further sense of how the English conceptualized of themselves, and what they wished to see from their king. This work addresses how successful James was at making himself English, and the tactics he deployed in his quest to do so.

Introduction. James I, Providence and the Culmination of English Identity

It was March 24th, 1603, Queen Elizabeth was pronounced dead, and with her the Tudor dynasty came to an end. The new king of England was her cousin, the thirty-seven-year-old highly experienced ruler James VI of Scotland, now James I of England. While James was never officially declared her heir, it was assumed he would succeed her, given he was in secret communication with her nobles for years prior to her passing, and was her legitimate male heir. As James made his way down to England from Scotland the atmosphere was one of excitement, as the last years of Elizabeth's reign were troubled given her lack of a natural born heir and refusal to name her successor. The advent of the Jacobean monarchy represents a hinge moment in early modern Britain, as it saw the dying of one dynasty, the beginning of another and attempts to unify Scotland and England into one. The transition was a peaceful one, which is nothing short of noteworthy given the trepidations surrounding the accession of a new monarch by the populace and nobles, particularly one who did not hail from England. James's ability to maintain control of both England and Scotland, and to pass the crown easily to his son Charles upon his death is exceptional. The real battle for James was not taking the English throne but rather finding a representational strategy that honored the legacy of Elizabeth, but also asserted his undoubted right to rule.

Histories of James's reign have at times fallen under the shadow of Elizabeth's rule, or his time as the English king is remembered as part of the 'high road to Civil War'.¹ Recent

¹ Two of the strongest proponents of the idea of a 'golden age' as assisted by the 'cult of Elizabeth' are Frances Yates and her student Roy Strong. The idea of a 'high road to civil war' is argued by Whig historians, but revisionist historians have largely rejected this interpretation. Whig historians would include Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642* (1972) who argued that the Civil War dated back to the previous century with struggles between the monarch and representative

historiography portrays James in a different light, showing his competence in rulership, ability to avoid the type of warfare seen in the Thirty Years War, French Wars of Religion and war in the United Provinces, and stability he brought to the throne and the skillful nature of his rule. He provided England with three healthy legitimate children when he ascended, thus avoiding many of the tensions surrounding succession haunting Elizabeth's reign. When he ascended, he entered a realm whose culture he was not familiar with, and he never lived up to the expectations of Elizabeth's legacy. Elizabeth is portrayed as the norm and James as the deviation, as she was the embodiment of all that was English, and he a foreigner at a time of heightened English xenophobia. James did what he could to win the love of the English population, and while he never fully succeeded in this, his attempts to do so provide a window into his self-portrayal, the role of providentialism in his reign, and the changing nature of English identity.

This work examines James's monarchical self-representation and favored media in the context of changing notions of religion, politics, empire, and role of the monarch as it related to English identity. In an era of personal monarchy, part of the sovereign's power was dependent upon successful image-making, propaganda, and public representation of authority. Personal monarchy in the English context refers to part of the power of the monarch being dependent upon successful image-making, propaganda and public representation of authority. As the monarch already had temporal power, the nature of the English Reformations was such that the monarch was granted ecclesiastical powers, making their personal representation even more critical. The advent of personal monarchy meant increased spending on propaganda efforts, public rituals and other forms of popular media. The monarch was living iconography, as their bodies were not their own but belonged to the state and the country itself. In figuring the imagery

bodies. Christopher Hill provides an example of a Marxist interpretation in his *The English Revolution, 1640* (1940), in which he saw the Civil War as being born from class struggle.

of monarchs as critical to the formation of English consciousness and identity, we delve into the role of the ruler in English imagination, and how English monarch's images were manipulated and used.

James struggled to find his place within English identity, as he ascended the English throne as a grown man, and therefore remained in the eyes of many in the English populace as more Scottish than English. James's attempts to weave himself into the fabric of Englishness is the focus of the dissertation here, as well as the problems James encountered with English identity. As will be discussed further, there were moments when James was more 'English', such as in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot, and through the representation of Prince Henry Frederick. This dissertation focuses on issues James faced with English identity, and how through his representational performance he attempted to make himself more English, and prove himself worthy of the English throne.

In understanding how identity formed, we explore the threads woven throughout English identity, and how James's public presentation and belief in the role of providence related to these. James's belief in his providential role as the King of England is seen in every aspect of his public presentation. James saw providentialism in his journey down to England, in his rule of both kingdoms as he was the providential unifier of a true British people, and the many deliverances from potential ruin he was granted. When James arrived in England, he brought with him many of the valuable lessons he learned during his early Scottish reign. The impact of James's experience in Scotland is important to understand when examining his English reign, as this experience colored many of his actions in England. James ascended his Scottish throne as an infant amid a rebellion against his mother, giving him little control during his minority, and his continued need to define his prerogative reflected the long-standing impact of his Scottish rule.

Providentialism, Patriotism and Identity

Before delving into the history of James's reign in Scotland, it is necessary to define terms which appear frequently throughout this dissertation: providentialism, identity and patriotism. Patriotism is perhaps the most contentious of all three, in this work it describes a sense of pride and attachment to one's country, history, religion, ruler, culture, landscape and people in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. It is still too early to call this sense of belonging nationalism, but there was a sense of Englishness, and strong belief in their unique place in history. Part of this patriotism expressed itself in xenophobic tendencies as seen by English reception of the Scots and their treatment of the Irish. Patriotism here is acknowledgement of the uniqueness of being English, and anyone who was not English was an 'other'. The 'other' described here is those of non-English descent, non-Protestants. This definition is based on Gillian Brennan's work *Patriotism, Power and Print: National Consciousness in Tudor England* (2003), where she describes patriotism as having a love for one's country, but not necessarily seeing the country as first in all things. Instead stronger loyalties may be tied to regionalism or religious proclivities. These loyalties included regional ties, religion, and family. The English reaction to the fate of Protestants overseas and need to step in and help their brethren at the expense of even their own men and resources is an example of religious loyalties being placed above ties to a country.

Identity here refers to a sense of personhood, or a consciousness tying together peoples in a more meaningful sense, here it references specifically England during the Elizabethan and Jacobean era. This type of public consciousness assisted in identity formation, as the English began to define who they were and who they were not, carving out a unique sense of self. Rather

than referencing individual identity, this work references the collective identity of the English people, a type of consciousness. This consciousness derived from print culture, increase in communication amongst the populace, news culture, the unique nature of the English Reformation and personal monarchy. This consciousness was expressed in print, art, plays, and other public cultural expressions. While it is not possible to argue that every single person in England bought into the consciousness discussed here, as there were Catholics and other religious minorities in England.

English identity and British identity for the purposes of this work are differentiated. English conceptions of 'Britishness' derived from Anglo-centric understandings, in which England was the inheritor of the British past and the triumphant successor to this legacy of the Roman Britons. The myth of Brutus and the ancient British empire was less popular during the Tudor era, but James rekindled this during his coronation and accompanying processions. The English viewed themselves as British, but rebuked the presence of others within this schema, i.e. the Scottish, Welsh and Irish. Therefore, James's accession threatened the framework within which the English understood Britishness, as James's proposed union plan included naturalization of Scots, putting them on equal footing with the English. Xenophobia lessened by the time James ascended, as compared to the Tudor era, but continued to be a potent force. This legacy was not forgotten, as seen in anti-Scottish sentiment expressed during the union debates and indeed in the 1605 Gunpowder Plot. It would take time to develop a true sense of 'Britishness', as Scotland was a new partner to England, and Ireland was viewed as subservient to England. British in the manner which is addressed here refers to English conception of Britishness, which was used during this period by the English. To truly unpack British identity, this dissertation would need to explore Scottish, Irish and Welsh identity, and there is simply not

space to answer this question properly. While it is a worthwhile question, the dissertation focuses on English identity, rather than British identity and Britishness which includes Scottish, Irish and Welsh identity.

Providence in this work is the notion of having a special place in the world and in God's plan, the idea that a person or country was God's chosen people and given a divine mission to fulfill. This is informed by a belief that one occupies a novel place in history and has a principal role in God's divine plan. When applied to England in the sixteenth and seventeenth century this was a deeply religious conviction, although it had temporal and political consequences. English literature of the time mused upon the role the English played in wiping out heresy and as a Protestant bastion to those overseas. James conceived of himself as having a providential role in history, as the one who would unite England and Scotland, and when combined with Ireland would usher in an era of British might. The belief James had in the providential role he played in God's plan informed every aspect of his representation, as he drew comparisons of himself to Biblical kings, which in part explains his push for the union project. His representation as *Rex Pacificus* fits within this providential schema, for despite the backlash he received at times for these policies, he believed himself capable of ushering in an era of peace in Europe, and uniting all under one banner of true religion.

These three concepts of identity, providence and patriotism run throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century in England, and play an especially important role during the reign of James. James's strong belief in his own providence gave him a single-minded drive to achieve his goals and this heavily informed his public representation. The nature of English identity was continuously changing, as there was a strong sense of patriotism present, but not so strong as to reject a foreign ruler. In exploring James's monarchical representation and Englishness, we gain a

sense of the role of identity, patriotism, and providence in the late Tudor and early Stuart era. This idea of England was ‘imagined’ through various forms of cultural expression including art, literature and plays, which were widely transmitted and available to the populace.²

Rule in Scotland

In Scotland, James came from a tradition in which monarchs were not venerated in the same manner English monarchs were, but instead were ‘first among equals’.³ In England following the legacy of King Henry VIII (1509-1547), the personality of the monarch became even more important, as their relationship with the people was another mechanism through which to enforce their power and authority. James’s public presentation changed when he came to England, as he began using similar strategies as Henry VIII and Elizabeth, as these were more easily recognizable to the populace, therefore striking a familiar chord. One way he did so was the publication and circulation of his own writings as a form of propaganda, setting down expectations for his new subjects. He interwove himself within religious life through the publication of a new Bible in 1611 “by his Majesty’s special commandment”, and bearing the king’s name on the title page.⁴ James took religion quite seriously, writing extensively on the subject and enthusiastically participating in public debates on theology. He frequently appealed to biblical characters, as they were recognizable and easily manipulated as proof of the divine origins of kingship. In his appeal to the divine nature of kingship and need to maintain power, he looked to the chaos in Scotland before his birth as proof of the necessity for a strong king.

² John M. Adrian, *Local Negotiations of English Nationhood, 1570-1680* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-5.

³ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010), 1.

⁴ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 30.

Prior to James's birth there was a regency period between 1542-58, after James V, his grandfather, died in December 1542, following the battle of Solway Moss, leaving behind an infant heir.⁵ The regency in Scotland went to James Hamilton, the Earl of Arran, and due to English encroachment upon Scotland during this time, Scotland formed an alliance with France, later referred to as the 'Auld Alliance'. The Scottish Revolution began in December 1557 when five Protestant nobles signed a pact together for mutual protection, later known as 'First Band of the Lords of the Congregation'.⁶ In the following Treaty of Edinburgh, Mary I and Francis, the monarchs of Scotland, were forced to recognize Scotland's religious liberties.⁷ The religious wars of 1559-60 saw continuing clashes over religious doctrine, as Mary was deposed and her infant son, James VI, took the throne. James was crowned at Stirling on July 26th 1567, with John Knox preaching a sermon.⁸ Mary escaped from captivity in 1568 to England, where she remained until she was beheaded for plotting against Elizabeth I, who was the ruling monarch at that time.⁹ James's early rule and the factions fighting for control during his minority had a lasting impact on his view of anyone who challenged his power, particularly religious groups.

The popular push towards Reformed Christianity religion in Scotland began in a violent manner in May 11th, 1559 when John Knox preached a sermon at St. John of Perth, inspiring a mob to sack the houses of the Grey and Black Friars, and the Carthusian monastery.¹⁰ Mary of Guise, the regent for her daughter Mary Queen of Scots, mustered troops at Stirling and marched on Perth to punish the preacher and burgesses. In retaliation, Knox and his allies rallied their own

⁵ Alec Ryrie (ed.), *The Age of Reformation: Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 195.

⁶ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 199.

⁷ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 200.

⁸ 'The Coronation and Scotland', *The Scottish Antiquary, or, Northern Notes and Queries*, Vol. 16, No. 61 (Jul., 1901), 13.

⁹ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 209.

¹⁰ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1970), 53.

army starting a popular rebellion, backed by noble support. Eventually the Scottish Parliament declared the country Protestant and independent of Rome.¹¹ The early church had little legal backing as Mary Stuart upon her return from France accepted but never ratified the religious legislation put forth. Ultimately, she was deposed by a rebel army in favor of her infant son.¹²

During James's early rule in Scotland he possessed less central control than rulers in England traditionally did, particularly regarding church operations as these were under the influence of John Knox. During his minority, James was a pawn for competing factions, given his ascension to the throne as a mere infant incapable of truly ruling for some time.¹³ In 1582 he was kidnapped from Esme Stuart by a group of Protestants in what was later known as the Ruthven Raid. The resulting backlash from this led to the 1584 'Black Acts' in which the monarch was given supremacy over the church.¹⁴ This early experience taught James to be wary of mass participation in the crafting and formation of religious doctrine. James saw his role as the monarch to explain scripture and church doctrine to his godly subjects, guiding them along a path towards salvation, something he continued in his journey south.

English Traditions and Popular Media

James inherited a tradition in England where the monarch was most powerful when conjoined with Parliament, as Parliament was critical in securing the religious reformations of the sixteenth century. The Reformations further tied the ruler to the country's religion, as the Act of Appeals in 1533 gave them an imperial status, and following this the idea of the monarch's

¹¹ Part of this revolution also meant that Scotland rid themselves of foreign influence, the French. Whether or not this was the main reason for nobles to assist in the revolution is not entirely relevant here, what is important is that there was an uprising on the basis of religious freedoms, and fighting afterwards centered upon what could be seen as 'popular revolt'.

¹² Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 62.

¹³ James Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', *Studies in Renaissance Literature*, Vol. 4, Cambridge, 2000, pg. 13.

¹⁴ Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', 14.

divine right to rule grew only stronger. Early Stuart political thinkers laid the foundations for theories of royal absolutism, arguing the only one superior to the King was God, although the king was not unlimited in his powers as he needed to respect divine law, rule in the public's interest, and had a moral obligation to rule fairly.¹⁵ The first publication of James's work, *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1599) declared, "By the law of nature the King becomes a natural father to all his lieges at his coronation. And as the father his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education and virtuous government of his children: even so is the King bound to care for all his subjects."¹⁶ In *True Law* James continued:

The Kings therefore in Scotland were before any estates or ranks of men within the same, before nay Parliaments were holden, or laws made; and by them was the land distributed, which at the first was whole theirs, States erected and discerned, and forms of government devised and established [...] I mean always of such free monarchies as our King is, and not of elective Kings.¹⁷

He argues kings were present prior to the establishment of government, or Parliaments, giving them an all-important place in proper governance of the realm. James contends kings were not elective but rather divinely chosen, harkening to notions of his own providential rule. James ensured he began his reign in England with a firm grip on power, and stated early on he wished for the unity of England and Scotland under one imperial crown.

James's primary mechanism for representation was the written word, although he utilized visual forms of public display and propaganda, particularly medals and woodcuts. He carefully crafted his public image to suit his needs, as this was important for the manipulation of power and authority. James portrayed himself as an idealized Renaissance prince who was educated,

¹⁵ Kate Augtherson, (ed.) *The English Renaissance: An Anthology of Sources and Documents* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 118.

¹⁶ Augtherson, *The English Renaissance*, 118. This was not James's first publication, but it was his first publication of *True Law*.

¹⁷ James I, *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, as quoted in Augtherson, *The English Renaissance*, 119-121.

well-spoken and gifted in music, mastery of languages and other forms of cultural expression. He showed his mastery of the written word through publications and articulating his viewpoint of the monarch's role in religion and politics. One of the ongoing themes throughout his reign was providence; we find this in his entry to England, his religious representation, his view on politics, the public presentation of his heir Henry Frederick and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. In a world where the public image of the monarch was increasingly critical, the notion of providentialism was a valuable propaganda tool.

Print Culture

Increasing circulation of printed materials meant the populace was better equipped to interact with and be aware of propaganda. Despite low literacy levels, there was a strong oral culture allowing for dissemination of information. Politically charged sermons made their way into print, and given the government's increasing control over the press, it attempted to censor certain publications and circulate its own propaganda. The Company of Stationers was responsible between 1557 to 1603 for control of the book trade in England, essentially taking over responsibilities older guilds exercised.¹⁸ The High Commission on printed materials was established and given authority to approve texts, allowing the monarch increased authority over circulation of materials, both secular and religious. James was cognizant of the power of print, as his works of *Basilikon Doron* and *The True Law of Monarchies* were printed in England prior to his journey south.¹⁹ The attempted control of imagery and publications was one tool available for monarchs to exercise power and authority.

¹⁸ Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11.

¹⁹ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, 11.

Print altered the field of what was available for public consumption, as the developing marketplace allowing for the production and subsequent dissemination of materials.²⁰ Despite the control the Company of Stationers was granted by the crown, discursive material frequently found itself in the hands of the population, and this type of literature offers an important window into critiques levelled against ruling powers. It is with the burgeoning print industry that subjects became more self-reflective and expressed not only their identity, but what they expected of their monarch. While it is still too early to call the type of identity formation taking place in England during this time ‘nationalism’, there was a rise of patriotism.²¹ The public sphere allowed space for these notions to be expressed and communicated to a large array of people.

Increased availability and circulation of printed materials meant images of the monarch disseminated to the populace, and there was a new market for these images, as seen during Elizabeth’s reign when it was commonplace to carry small trinkets with her likeness.²² Part of the demand for royal images is attributable to Elizabeth herself as she frequently publicized her public body, making it one and the same with the English people, in turn creating a demand for her likeness. Her public body refers to the immortal body of kingship, and as the monarch of the English people her body was not her own but rather belonged to the state. As her body belonged to the state, her nobles commented upon her lack of heir from her own body and her refusal to marry, as she was not fulfilling one of her sacred duties: to ensure the continuance of the Tudor dynasty.

²⁰ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

²¹ Patriotism here in the specific context of England refers to the belief in the providential role of England in God’s realm and in Europe, a pride in one’s country, and belief that their way of life and people was superior to all others.

²² Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2009), 320.

The burgeoning public sphere gave access to letters between various powerful players, which were often written with the knowledge these would be publicly circulated. We have records of letters between Elizabeth to James, as Elizabeth insisted on writing to James as she became older, continuing to dance around the issue of making him to be her heir.²³ He was however, the obvious choice as many of Elizabeth's own councilors contacted him and made secret arrangements for his accession to the throne. Print culture and public consumption allowed for the mass production and proliferation of images and writings of the monarch, it allowed a new space to praise and critique the monarch.

The monarch was both the living embodiment of the nation and a visible product to be consumed by their subjects, in the same manner news and portraits were consumed. The English monarch was a divine figure, but also one who had to pay close attention to the wishes of their people. During the Henrician Reformation Henry VIII circulated propaganda asserting why he was now Head of the Church of England, meaning religious discussions were now accessible to the populace instead of being confined to theologians and other intellectuals. During the English Reformation, there was a break from the past not only religiously speaking, but in terms of ideological underpinnings of political authority, which faced increased scrutiny, meaning conscientious monarchs were increasingly careful in their public representation. James I frequently deployed images of himself as Constantine or the Biblical king Solomon, as both tropes would have been familiar to the audience James attempted to reach.

James's Transition to the English Throne

There has been a great deal of ink spilled on James, but what this work does is focus on why his rule was so important and why this period was critical to the formation of English

²³ Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 17.

identity. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed upheaval across Europe, as countries broke from Christendom leading to a multitude of new churches, contributing to decades of civil and religious warfare. This was a critical moment in identity formation as the age of exploration and religious upheavals, with identity markers shattering. There were contentious and ongoing battles on religion, the changing role of government and the role of colonialism and empire, all impacting identity. James came to the English throne with a divine mission, the unification of England and Scotland, and even with the troubles he faced he held strong in his belief it was his providential mission to bring the British Isles under one ruler.

James came to England at a difficult time, as there was financial turmoil, uncertainty about the future of England and now a foreigner on the English throne. James occupies an important moment of transition in England regarding religious policies, expectations of the ruler, and hopes for a burgeoning empire. While it is easy to chalk up challenges he faced to failing to live up to the myth of Elizabeth's Golden Age, this does not help unpack James's rule. In a similar manner, if his reign is viewed as part of the inevitable buildup to the English Civil War, this colors our view of James as we try to find reasons pointing to the inevitability of the war. Elizabeth's artificial idealization upon her death influenced James's rule, not only in his own time but often in how historians have viewed and interpreted his reign. The notion of James as an unsuccessful ruler who was boisterous in his attitude and lacked a connection with the common people is discarded here as well; to view his reign through this lens is to ignore successful moments during his English rule. While the English Civil War is important, this work shies away from arguing there were markers throughout James's reign indicating inevitable future conflict. This is not to say his reign was easy, in fact much of what is studied here puts him at odds with the wishes of the populace and even his own council. His reign does not lack comment, but there

has been less comment on the connection between his representation and English identity. Immediately after his passing, James's time on the English throne was frequently used for political purposes, as he was portrayed negatively during the buildup to the English Civil War, and then recalled fondly during the Restoration Era at the end of the seventeenth century.

Historiography

In the 1640s James was viewed critically, as Thomas May's *History of the Parliament of England* (1647) portraying him as far too close to Spain, making him out to be a pseudo-Catholic. David Hume's *History of Great Britain* (1754-6) and Paul de Rapin Thoyras's *Impartial History of England* are both examples of Whig history, as they attempted to show a linear progression of history, dependent upon the belief that civilization was increasingly improving. Hume argued James's reliance upon divine power for successful rulership eventually led Parliament attempting to expand its powers and the populace believing they should have more say in the actions of the state.²⁴ William Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759) argued James had to strike a delicate balance when arriving in England regarding his religious policies as he could not afford to make either Protestants or Catholics uneasy, needing their full support. T.B. Macauley's *The History of England* (1848) focused on what he perceived to be a dichotomy between those who wanted more say in the government against the 'arbitrary government' of James.²⁵ S.R. Gardiner argues James frequently fought with the Commons as they battled for control of the government, putting his relationship with the Commons in the context of the English Civil War. Conrad Russell argues there was nothing inevitable about the rise of parliament as seen during the Civil War, rebuking Gardiner's claims.²⁶ Since 1960 there has

²⁴ Ralph Houlbrooke, (ed.), *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority and Government* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 170-177.

²⁵ Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 177.

²⁶ Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 184.

been a turn in how James is viewed, as he is portrayed in a more favorable light. Patrick Collinson and Kenneth Fincham both focus on James's ability to be moderate in his religious policy and strike a delicate balance between competing factions and seeking out non-extremist policies.

David Baker and Willy Maley's co-edited work examines English identity as it formed during the English Renaissance, the nature of the public sphere, consumption culture, notions of Britain as shown in theaters and masques in the Jacobean court, and colonial representation of ancient Britain as tied to overseas and internal empire.²⁷ Much of this argument focuses on the idea of England as a 'Protestant island bastion', whose mission it was to spread the true faith.²⁸ These authors examine how notions of Britain seeped into theatre, literature, and masques in the Jacobean era, and how the popularity of these ideas shaped understandings of England's overseas empire and provided support for the internal union of the British Isles. Leande de Lisle inspects the succession of James, his journey to England, and the various issues he inherited following Elizabeth's death.²⁹ De Lisle analyzes the xenophobia greeting the arrival of so many Scots to England, as well as the fear over James's religious policy. Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence tackle issues relating to the succession in their joint work, including the propaganda campaign during James's accession, beginning with the union project. Exploring

²⁷ For further information refer to *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, edited by David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁸ David J. Baker and Willy Maley, eds., *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46.

²⁹ For further information refer to *After Elizabeth: The Rise of James of Scotland and the Struggle for the Throne of England* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2005).

notions of English sovereignty, they argued it was fear of English power waning and xenophobia which ultimately ruined the union project.³⁰

Bruce Galloway and Anne McLaren examine the debate over the union controversy in the first years of James's rule.³¹ McLaren focuses on the debate over union and the notion of James as the husband to the realm.³² With James this took on new importance as he was Scottish by birth, creating fear that England would be the lesser (i.e. the female) partner in a potential union between the two countries. The marriage metaphors McLaren explores unpack gendered depictions of obedience, and the role of conformity regarding political and religious doctrine. The religious and political goals of James, W.B. Patterson argues, was to be the unifier of Christendom, a *Rex Pacificus*.³³ Judith Richards looks at identity and personal monarchy under James, arguing he attempted to provide a coherent message of his intentions as a ruler through a targeted writing campaign. She argues the English were not ready for a masculine king after years of Elizabeth, and were not used to the type of patriarchal language he deployed.³⁴ The marriage metaphors surrounding the Union debate play a critical role in understanding the backlash to the Union project, as the feminization of England by a male ruler after decades of rule by a woman.

³⁰ For further information refer to *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, edited by Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer, and Jason Lawrence (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

³¹ Galloway's work on the union is *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD, 1986).

³² Anne McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn 2004), 458-461.

³³ W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 35-37.

³⁴ Judith M. Richard, 'The English Accession of James VI: 'National' Identity, Gender and Personal Monarchy of England', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 117, No. 472, (Jun., 2002), 513.

J.P. Sommerville, a well-known and prolific writer on James, examines his writings and insistence on the monarch's divine right to rule and the notion that active resistance to the monarch was sinful, as James frequently used scripture to explain and codify his power. Lori Anne Ferrell writes on religious conformity and enforcement of James's religious preferences in her work, arguing the Scottish kirk was viewed as a threat to English Protestantism, as it was foreign to English religious culture and doctrine.³⁵ Linda Levy Peck similarly addresses the role of classical and biblical stories in Jacobean England, arguing the king's outlook was influenced by common law and his understanding of the role of monarchy.³⁶ Sommerville's analysis of James's writings *True Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilikon Doron*, surveys fatherly authority and James's skill as a writer and rhetorician.³⁷

The idea of a learned monarch is reflected in James's reign as he frequently made comparisons between himself as Solomon, which Lori Ferrell outlines in her work. Ferrell argues James was genuinely talented in religious dispute, an argument given further support by James Doelman, who argued James brought a resurgence of religious writing with him to England.³⁸ Doelman further analyzes Jacobean religious culture, and James's focus on the written word and less so on artistic representation. Robert Zaller argues these efforts to command power were critical at a time when monarchy was going through a process of 'desacralization'. Zaller contends Jacobean propagandists did what they could to preserve the solemnity of the monarchy, citing those such as Lancelot Andrewes, who preached on the providential nature of James's

³⁵Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers and the Rhetorics of Conformity 1603-1625*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 29-33.

³⁶ For further information, refer to Linda Levy Peck's edited work *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁷ For further information, refer to J.P. Sommerville's *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640* (New York: Pearson Education Limited, 1986).

³⁸ Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', 2-7.

rule.³⁹ The idea of Christian emperor's and God's anointed is portrayed here as married to Protestant rulership. Marc Bloch echoes a similar argument in his work on monarchy, arguing the Reformation hurt these divine notions, as these sacred ceremonies and acts of royal miracles were portrayed as sacrilegious.⁴⁰

The exercise of public power and construction of Protestant British identity is tackled by Alan Maccool, who traces the origins of the concept of Britain to Geoffrey of Monmouth and other early writers.⁴¹ Patrick Collinson and Peter McCullough study religious policies under the Tudors and Jacobean, with Collinson contending between the years of 1559-1625 there was 'confirmation and consolidation of Protestantism in English society'.⁴² Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake probe sermons preached under James, notions of James as *Rex Pacificus* and a new Constantine, as well as James's religious policies. They find James to be "dedicated to the principle of religious unity," and his belief the unity of Christendom could be based on "core Catholic doctrines to be guarded by Christian princes in different national churches."⁴³ The portrayal of James as *Rex Pacificus* is put into the context of the Thirty Years War, which Fincham and Lake argue showed the vitriol English Protestants held towards Catholicism, and while James portrayed himself as a bringer of peace, it was critical he act as defender of

³⁹ Robert Zaller, 'Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Autumn 1998), 759.

⁴⁰ Zaller, 'Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England', 759-760. One of these royal miracles which he refers to here is the idea that the monarch could heal scrofula or the 'king's evil' by touching the infected person.

⁴¹ Alan Maccool, 'The Construction of England as a Protestant 'British' nation in the Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (December 2004), 600.

⁴² Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6. Collinson in his own work argued that Elizabeth's reign was more representative of a 'monarchical republic'.

⁴³ Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Politics and Religion in the Early Seventeenth Century: New Voices (April 1985), 186.

Protestantism.⁴⁴ Charles Prior surveys the political and religious controversy under James and the relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authority. Prior argues, “in the Jacobean mind, religion was central to accounts of how commonwealths fell into disorder and was spoken of in conjunction with established political metaphors.”⁴⁵ Bernard Bourdin and Susan Pickford’s work on theology and the origins of the modern state explores the creation of the royal supremacy in 1534, and changes in monarchy following this Act. The appeals to Roman law are shown in this work as being critical to the notion of an internal empire, personal and territorial sovereignty.⁴⁶

Jalan MacColl’s work is on the idea of Britain, arguing ancient Britain had a powerful hold on English imagination and this played an important role in James’s efforts to unify Scotland and England. Likewise, Tristan Marshall’s work explores the idea of Great Britain as it was expressed on the stage. Other themes he includes are the role of Francis Bacon and John Dee in formatting arguments about union, the legacy of the Golden Age under Elizabeth, and what the word ‘imperial’ meant at the time and outside perspectives of the union. Here empire refers to not only English efforts overseas, but James’s mission to create a new British empire, as he now was the monarch of the two realms and maintained control over Ireland. Marshall argues “Protestantism was indeed to be the first commodities shipped to the New World,” playing an important role in the competitive nature of overseas expansion and need to best other powers.⁴⁷ Andrew Nicholls work on British policies under James and Charles, and although neither monarch was “able to rule the three kingdoms of the British Isles as a single political unit, they

⁴⁴ Fincham and Lake, ‘The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I’, 201.

⁴⁵ Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27.

⁴⁶ Bernard Bourdin and Susan Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 21.

⁴⁷ Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages under James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 12.

nevertheless possessed a potent vision of British unity that could lead them to try to treat their three kingdoms as one entity.”⁴⁸ Here Nicholls examines the creation of new coinage, heraldry and flag, all symbolic markers of the union and a hoped for united Protestant nation. The potency of anti-Catholicism and the strengthening vision of England as a bastion of Protestantism is seen notably in James’s reign during the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Elizabeth’s legacy played an important role during James’s reign, as she was mythologized after her death and her memory became a weapon used to criticize James. Thus, when James came to the throne, he had to combat these idealized remembrances, and find a way to successfully rule three kingdoms, one of the problems his son Charles dealt with during his reign, albeit with less success.

In David Cressy’s work on national memory, he argues for the importance of the calendar in marking Protestant holidays, as this became part of the English calendrical year.⁴⁹ New events were added to the calendar, focusing on anniversaries centered on Protestantism and were celebrated with ringing of bells and religious services. He argues the remembrance and memory of the Gunpowder Plot spoke to a type of Protestant paradigm developing in the mid to late sixteenth century, and blossomed more fully when England was subject to threat by those considered enemies of the state. These customary celebrations ingrained a sense of deliverance from threats, and thankfulness for the strength of the Protestant country. Peter McCullough’s work on sermons argues providential nationalism was the “logical outgrowth of the Foxeian myth of England’s divine deliverance from the clutches of popery.”⁵⁰ Lori Anne Ferrell surveys the rhetoric of conformity as it applied to the Gunpowder Plot, arguing this was a pivotal

⁴⁸ Andrew J. Nicholls, *The Jacobean Union: A Reconsideration of British Civil Policies under the Early Stuarts* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1965), 2.

⁴⁹David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), xi.

⁵⁰ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122.

moment in James's reign as it tied him in a more meaningful sense to his new subjects.⁵¹ W.B. Patterson focuses on the events of the Gunpowder Plot and subsequent Oath of Allegiance, allowing James to not only assert his power at home but make a statement to Europe on the Protestant nature of England. James declared the pope could not depose a king, or excommunicate those in England.⁵² Foxeian mythology and apocalyptic sentiment informed popular understandings of foreign and domestic policy during both Elizabeth and James's reign.

Nina Taunton and Valeria Hart investigate the Gunpowder Plot and its portrayal in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, arguing Shakespeare paid homage to the Stuarts, but showed a society divided, and the Plot against the king and his government was a symptom of endemic problems.⁵³ They argue against the idea the Plot was a conspiracy by king and government to go on a Catholic witch-hunt, but the Plot did indeed increase James's popular support.⁵⁴ Taunton and Hart argue the Plot showcased the conflict between the divine right of kings and the human nature of monarchs, and *King Lear* argued against a subject's right to question this authority. Jenny Wormald argues xenophobia was present throughout the narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, as she traces the hostility between the Scots and English following James's succession.⁵⁵ Mark Nicholls explores the motives behind those involved in the Plot, who Hugh Trevor-Roper called "extremists on the fringe."⁵⁶ Nicholls argues the plotters were more akin to rebels, who originally

⁵¹ Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, 64.

⁵² Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 80.

⁵³ Nina Taunton and Valerie Hart, 'King Lear', King James and the Gunpowder Treason of 1605', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (December 2003), 695.

⁵⁴ Taunton and Hart, 'King Lear', King James and the Gunpowder Treason of 1605, 695.

⁵⁵ Jenny Wormald, 'Gunpowder, Treason and Scots', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Politics and Religion in the Early Seventeenth Century: New Voices (April, 1985), 158.

⁵⁶ Mark Nicholls, 'Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Dec., 2007), 788.

looked to Spain for assistance, but soon became disenchanted with Spain as there was no consistent support.⁵⁷

Richard Hardin studies poetry relating to the Gunpowder Plot including John Milton's *In Guintum Novembris*, Herring's *Pietas Pontificia*, and John Ross's *Apostrophe Praesens Tempus*. He analyzes the representation of Guy Fawkes, who is depicted as possessing demonic qualities, with James having divine ones, reflecting the apocalyptic sentiment attached to the Plot.⁵⁸ A.H. Dodd investigates the nature of those involved in the Plot, the situation regarding Catholics internationally, and how James dealt with Catholics in England. He argues James ascended peacefully by professing toleration, and when this was not granted, exiles began to prepare for a Catholic rising in England.⁵⁹

These works all provide a rich backdrop to James's reign, as well as the influence of Elizabeth's legacy upon his English rule. The memory of Elizabeth held an iron grasp in the early Jacobean years, at times making it difficult for James to carve out a representational space for himself.⁶⁰ It is from these works and many others, that this dissertation will draw on as it explores monarchical representation and the formation of English identity. What this dissertation will add to the field is a fuller understanding of why this period was so important, and the role providentialism played in James's self-representation and the formation of English identity. Each of the chapters will focus on one particular topic or event, while the work does open with

⁵⁷ Nicholls, 'Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot', 803.

⁵⁸ Richard F. Harden, 'The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: Myth in the Making', *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter 1992), 74.

⁵⁹ A.H. Dodd, 'The Spanish Treason, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Catholic Refugees', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 212 (October, 1938), 646.

⁶⁰ John Watkins, "'Old Bess in the Ruff': Remembering Elizabeth I, 1625-1660", *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2000), 113-114.

James's coronation and entry into England, the chapters proceed in a loose chronological fashion while addressing thematic issues as they appeared during James's reign.

Chapter Outline

The main focal point throughout each of the chapters is James's representational strategy, as he attempted to make himself more 'English' and honor Elizabeth's legacy, while also carving out a new space for himself in English popular consciousness. His time on the throne was a hinge moment as it was not just a change from one dynasty to another, from female to male, but also changing expectations of the monarch's role, and as their likeness was publicly circulated their image became even more important. Following the English Reformations, the monarch's identity and religious proclivities impacted the populace in a significant way, and debates on religion were subject to increased public scrutiny. It is through the reaction and reception to James's rule and his image that we glimpse at the nature of English identity. English identity was constantly in flux, as there were a myriad of factors influencing how they conceived of themselves and others. While identity was evolving, we can glean a stronger sense of attachment to the idea of being English, something not necessarily present in earlier centuries.

The primary sources used for this dissertation include Parliamentary proceedings, and other types of documents were available to the public such as proclamations, plays, essays and descriptions of ceremonies and processions. While this could be argued as an elitist approach to the themes discussed here, these primary sources were chosen because they were readily available to all members of society, and the documents not publicly disseminated contain valuable information on opinions expressed behind closed doors. If one is to talk about English identity, it is best to assess this through materials that would have been accessible to the populace. These reflect and inform the formation of popular consciousness and English identity.

The themes throughout this work focus on James's representational strategy, providence, patriotism and identity. It is through these we can fully unpack the importance and impact of James's public presentation and his representational performance.

The first chapter explores James's entrance to England, as he made his way to his new capital, London. In these opening moments of his reign, particularly his coronation rituals, his first parliaments and his push for a union between Scotland and England, we gain a sense of his plan upon entering England. James had a dynastic understanding of a possible union between England and Scotland, arguing that as king he was married to the country. For James to be separately married to England and Scotland would produce a bigamous relationship as he would be married to two 'wives'. He quickly had to establish the legitimacy of his new dynasty, as he drew from tropes his ancestor Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty, used, putting him in a meaningful conversation with the Tudor legacy. In his union project and proclamations accompanying his entry to England there are references to Britain woven throughout, particularly in his coronation rituals. James's emphasis on this British past and the iconography accompanying it was part of his propaganda scheme to gain support for the union between Scotland and England. The pushback he received for his union project allows us to examine the threats the proposed union would pose to English identity, and the anti-Scottish backlash this produced provides a lens into views of Scotland. James saw his rule of both England and Scotland as providential, as he would unify the two and pass them peacefully to his son and heir, creating a dynasty to rule the British Isles and spread Protestantism overseas. This chapter analyzes reactions to James's entrance to England as well as his union project to understand how the English viewed themselves. James saw his rule of England as providential, a gift to the English and a role he was destined to fulfill.

Chapter two examines the role of providence in the Gunpowder Plot, as well as what this Plot shows us about the nature of English identity. The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 was not just a momentous event when it happened, as remembrance remains alive and well in popular culture today. November 5th became an important Protestant holiday, and was a critical part of what it meant to be English: deliverance by God from outside enemies as a show of His favor, and protection for the English as His chosen people. Propaganda following 1605 provides useful insight into how the English understood themselves, their views of the outside world, and disdain towards Catholics. The anniversary and celebration of the deliverance from the Catholic plotters centered on the Protestant monarch, as bells were rung, bonfires lit, and celebrations held across England. This victory was part of God's special providence, as England was a new Israel, spared from potential ruin via divine intervention. The memory of the Plot was however, manipulated on all sides for various purposes, including criticism of the government and of James himself. Some historians argue it was the Gunpowder Plot which tied James to England, given he was in danger of bodily harm. This moment, perhaps more so than any other during his reign, represents the importance of memorializing events, and the impact this had on identity, memory and national consciousness.

The third chapter is a consideration of James's presentation as Constantine, Solomon and David, and how these figures reflected his providential role as the English and Scottish king. By comparing himself with the Biblical king Solomon, James portrayed himself as a wise and learned ruler. The intertwining of classical and divine figures with whom James compared himself put him in conversation with the past, as he worked to prove the providential nature of his rule. James's religious representation was of special importance given the nature of the English Reformation, which made the monarch the center of ecclesiastical life. James's works

Basilicon Doron and *True Law*, provide important source material on James's view on his political and religious power, as these were both written performances. While James's presentation as Solomon and Constantine at times received backlash, he consistently pushed for the ecclesiastical unity of English religion, as James believed himself to be gifted and led by God. Chapter three examines the nature of James's public presentation, his reception as a new Constantine and Solomonic figure, and how he crafted his religious policies and presentation. Given the unique nature of the English Reformations, James had to fit himself within these pre-existing schemes and honor the history of the English church, while also making sure to assert his own power. This chapter is a prequel to chapter four, where backlash to this imagery is examined, as James seemingly did not fit at times with what the English wanted from their king.

Chapter four delves into images of James as *Rex Pacificus*, the peacemaker of Europe who would help warring countries end their violence.⁶¹ One way James defended himself from the backlash of his foreign policy choices was his extensive writing on the power of the monarch, their role in governance, and ability to independently craft their foreign policy. In *True Law*, James argued based upon scriptural authority kings were told by God to rule upon earth in his stead, and it was their task to administer fair justice for those in their kingdom. James's continued defense of his prerogative allows a window into his conception of his power and role as the English king. Here we see a battle between what James perceived his role as monarch was, and how Parliament viewed this role. The clash between these two competing visions is indicative of changing attitudes towards the monarch at the highest level of government. While much of this chapter focuses on James's vision of his power and his government's response to this, and the fight between the two indicates the changing role of the monarch at the highest

⁶¹ Ferrell, *Government by Polemic*, 115-116.

levels of society. Parliament is a representation and extension of the people, therefore their changing notions towards the monarch's role indicates a change within English identity. The opposition he received from Parliament for his robust defense of his prerogative articulates the unease felt at this type of language, the priorities of the English and the perceived limits of monarchical power. This public presentation of the monarch meant James was tasked with creating a representation articulating the importance of his providential role, but emphasized his care for the English people, as they were his brethren, and he their king by right of blood and heritage. Methods James used for this included the Banqueting Hall, striking of medals, woodcuts, portraits, proclamations and other print publications.

Chapter five examines James's imagery as *Rex Pacificus* in the context of the Thirty Year's War and the forces of international Protestantism. To James the role of peacekeeper meant more than his ability to resolve conflicts between countries, it gave him a spiritual task to assist in the reunion of Christendom. This image was one James frequently used, as he worked tirelessly during the Thirty Year's War to negotiate peace terms, often to the chagrin of his own subjects. Negotiations for a Spanish Infanta after Henry's death for his son Charles produced enormous backlash, as many of his subjects saw these negotiations as inviting the enemy (i.e. a Spanish Infanta) in their Protestant island, potentially leading to a Catholic heir succeeding. Included in this chapter is James's first son and heir, Henry Frederick. Henry was portrayed as an idealistic Protestant prince and true heir of Elizabeth's Protestant warrior legacy. Henry's public representation as an idealized figure at first served James well, as his image was more bellicose and warlike, meaning he served as James's right arm, while James himself pursued peaceful policies. This allowed James the best of both worlds, with him as the peacemaker of Europe, and his son as a Protestant champion. There is a wealth of material available on Henry's image, as he

is recognized as an important political figure in the early years of James's reign. He provided an avenue to criticize James, and Henry's role in James's reign should be understood as a reflection of what the English wanted to see in their king, and what they found lacking in James. The memory and legacy of Henry gives us valuable insight into how the English conceived of an ideal king, and the role this played during James's reign. Conceptions of what an ideal king was to the English is reflective of their identity and the type of monarch they wished to be on the throne.

While many of the primary sources used are readily available and have been studied by many historians previously, the manner they are analyzed here is unique to other studies done on James thus far. It is here at this moment, as one dynasty died and another arose, that English identity found new expression, as they became increasingly vocal in how they viewed themselves, and what they wished to see from their ruler. James failed to meet these standards, but in his failings, there are moments of triumph, perhaps the greatest was his avoidance of internal warfare and passing the crown peacefully to his son. His coming to England was triumphant, as there was genuine joy at his arrival as England had grown weary of its aging queen. Bells were rung and songs sung for the entrance of an experienced ruler who was Protestant and brought with him legitimate children. The story of James's rule in England is one of intrigue and drama, and at the center of it was a man whose belief in the providential nature of his rule never wavered.

Chapter 1. Embodying England: Accession, Union and the Fight for the Throne

I desire a perfect Union of Lawes and persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdoms under me your King. That I and my posterities (if it so please God) may rule over you to the worlds end.¹

--James I
King's Speech Concerning the Union

Here at the beginning of his reign, James promised to rule England peacefully until the 'worlds end'. At the time of his accession to the English throne James was married and brought with him three healthy children, two of whom were legitimate male heirs, securing his line of succession and thus easing some of the tensions present in the late Elizabethan era, as she never married and refused to produce an heir from her own body. What James lacked however, was being fully English. Hailing from Scotland, James was the obvious heir to Elizabeth and his ascension was anticipated for some time due to his descent from the Tudor bloodline, but there were nonetheless complications with his transition to the English throne upon Elizabeth's passing. James was the great-great grandson of Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty, who arranged a marriage for his daughter Margaret Tudor to James VI of Scotland.

James's rule in Scotland was troubled in his early life, as he came to the throne as an infant, with competing factions at court striving to push their agenda. As he matured, he proved a highly capable and adept ruler despite the chaos of his early years, and peacefully ascended the English throne in 1603. Unfortunately for James, the English tended to be xenophobic and fiercely protective of their country. James came to the throne with a project in mind which would change the fabric of English cultural and social life: the unification of Scotland and England. His

¹ Glenn Burgess, Jason Lawrence, and Rowland Wymer eds., *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), xv.

quest to do so defined his early years in England, causing tension as he attempted to unite England and Scotland under the banner of Great Britain. He argued his separate rule of both kingdoms was a bigamous relationship as the two countries were not united. Even though the union project would ultimately fail during his reign, it had important ramifications for developing English identity and how James portrayed his rule. This chapter explores the trends in the English monarchy prior to James's accession, the Elizabethan legacy, James's coming to England, and his attempts at the Union project. James struggled to weave himself into English culture, and in his initial entry into England he drew on tropes used in Elizabeth's reign as these were easily recognizable to the public. The patriotic backlash to his proposed union plans is seen in the reaction to the naturalizing of the Scots, as it did not fit within the scheme of English identity. The Parliamentary proceedings from the proposed union bring light to the disgruntlement over this plan. In this chapter, we see James attempting to make his public presentation a more English one, as he continually referenced notions of Britain in his coronation pageantry, and styled himself as King of Great Britain, attempting to forge a new identity in which the British Isles were under one common ruler, law and religion, and not a mere personal union.

Coronation

The intimate tie between the monarch and country was at the heart of Englishness, with the monarch as protector of the people and spouse to England. Elizabeth frequently avoided the question of marriage by claiming she was married to the realm, and therefore had no need to marry another. When James ascended the English throne therefore, he followed Elizabeth's example and claimed to be married to England. In an era of personal monarchy, the public representation of the ruler was critical, and when combined with an influx of materials available

to the populace, monarchs had to win the love of their subjects. The English Reformations added a unique angle to the personal monarchy of the English, as the monarchs were now ‘popes in England’, meaning ecclesiastical grievances were laid at their feet, in a manner like the complaints levelled against the Church in Rome. In his efforts to bring about Protestantism in England, Henry VIII, Elizabeth’s father, invested in himself new powers, as well as increased importance in his own person. The personality and representation of the monarch was important, and Elizabeth made the immortal being of monarchy and her individual body one and the same, meaning rather than being a mere office, it was truly the personality of the ruler which mattered. The style of royal representation James used did not necessarily fit with Tudor patterns, as he preferred wordy proclamations explaining his every motive, while Elizabeth used visuals and shorter public proclamations. While Elizabeth never had an official court painter, in 1563 she began attempts to control circulation of her image, preferring to maintain a ‘mask of youth’, explaining why Elizabeth appears to be the same age in many her portraits.² Nicholas Hilliard created a series of miniatures of Elizabeth which were easily available to the populace, meaning it was not uncommon for her subjects to have her likeness on their person.³ The ease of access to Elizabeth’s likeness is a notable contrast to the lack of circulation of James’s image.

The monarch cultivated popular loyalty through propaganda.⁴ The notion of being married to the country as the ruling monarch fits well with the idea of the king’s two bodies, one which was the ‘body natural’, and one the ‘body politic’.⁵ The body natural was the physical body of the monarch, while the body politic represented the immortal being of kingship (or

² Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 14-15.

³ Strong, *Gloriana*, 79.

⁴ J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 7-8.

⁵ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7.

queenship), containing none of the flaws of humanity.⁶ Tudor lawyers used this trope to illustrate differences between the king as a moral actor and one who embodied the commonwealth.⁷ As a personification of the commonwealth, the ruler served as the figurative ‘head’ of the realm, while their subjects made up the ‘body’. Guibert of Nogent (1055-1124), a Benedictine theologian, made similar distinctions between the two bodies of the Lord; one was his *corpus principale*, and the other his *corpus mysticum*, a notion reflected in the theory of the king’s two bodies.⁸ Through coronation, the ruler took part in a sacred rite, and was anointed with oil, imitating the taking of holy orders.⁹ This also reflects imagery of David and Solomon as kings anointed by God. The wording and significance of this ceremony changed during the English Reformations, as it was imbued with new meaning and responsibilities.

In Edward VI of England’s coronation on February 20th, 1547, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, led the ceremony, confirming Edward’s divine authority was not dependent on outside powers, i.e. the papacy.¹⁰ Instead this power derived from the English church which Edward was head of, granting him ecclesiastical authority.¹¹ This re-allocation of the monarch’s power was important, as it solidified the changes during Henry VIII’s Reformations, and was importantly not only used by Protestant Edward, but his Catholic successor, his half-sister Mary. The continued use of this language shows the intimate tie between monarchy and the religious trajectory of England. The ceremony was steeped in medieval Catholic tradition in which the monarch was granted quasi-priestly attributes, which

⁶ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 9.

⁷ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 87.

⁸ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 194.

⁹ Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

¹⁰ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2009), 212.

¹¹ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, 85.

when combined with the royal supremacy gave a sacramental element to the English monarchy.¹² Other changes during the Reformations included state prayers for the monarch in The Book of Common Prayer from 1549 onwards. This meant subjects gave glory to their rulers while in church, thus providing an even closer tie between the monarch and their subjects, only adding to the development of patriotic sentiment.¹³ The Book of Common Prayer was required in every parish in England, meaning all within the kingdom received a consistent reminder of the majesty of their monarch while in a sacred space. Henry VIII engaged in a vernacular print campaign in his justification of royal supremacy, as he looked to explain his break with Rome, while also asserting his own authority and the providence God gifted England in its turn to Protestantism.¹⁴

Personal Monarchy

The era of personal monarchy meant power was exercised not just through traditional mechanisms, but media of art, coronation, progress and architecture. The royal arms were displayed in every parish church in England, as a visual reminder to the populace of the power of the English monarch. These mechanisms conveyed a sense of kingly majesty, much of which depended upon the monarch's physical body and notions of masculinity and kingship. Elizabeth called upon her father's heritage to portray traditional masculinity, while James proved his masculinity through his ability to sire children. The rise of hereditary monarchy occurred alongside notions of divine right kingship, and was reflected in the language and visual imagery of coronation ceremonies.¹⁵ These Tudor public displays bound together the ruler and subject, a task also achieved through progresses. These were a chance for the monarch to see and be seen,

¹² Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* 93.

¹³ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 11.

¹⁴ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 12-13.

¹⁵ Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, 14.

interacting with various localities and reinforcing their authority,¹⁶ as these public rituals were propaganda, with performers participating in lavish allegorical productions.¹⁷ The developing culture of consumption meant these public acts were an opportunity to view kingly majesty. The public body of the monarch was the physical embodiment of sovereignty, and tied to the immortal office of kingship.

The mystical quality monarchs imbued through the act of coronation became a crucial moment not just in the exercise of rulership, but in understanding the bond formed between ruler and subjects. As the head of state, they were the leaders of their subjects and living representations of England itself, sworn to protect their subjects and uphold true religion. Sir Thomas More, an English statesman, in 1518 wrote, “A kingdom in all parts is like a man. The king is the head; the people form the other parts. Every citizen the king has he considers a part of his own body (that is why he grieves for the loss of a single one). His subjects...all look upon him as the head for which they provide the body.”¹⁸ The coronation oath was like marital vows, it was a binding contract promising mutual reciprocation of respect. In the coronation, the promise was to rule well, uphold the laws of the kingdom, and dispense justice fairly. In marriage vows the promise was to remain loyal throughout the duration of their lives, with promises of mutual trust and respect. Both were eternal and public bonds, bringing two bodies together, in marriage it was a male and female, in the coronation it was the ruler and realm. In James’s case, it was a male ruler and realm, making England the bride. With Elizabeth, she was

¹⁶ Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 40-46.

¹⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy, Piety*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 182

¹⁸ *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More*, trans. Leicester Brodner and Charles A. Lynch (Chicago, 1953), p. 172, in “Monogamy, Polygamy and the true State: James I’s Rhetoric of Empire”, Anne McLaren, *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn 2004): 448.

the bride and England the groom, which she utilized as a defense mechanism to deflect questions of why she had not married and produced an heir. This was a point of tension when England became the female partner in the marriage, this time subverted by a foreign partner in the form of James and his native country Scotland. The gendered implication of England as a subservient partner to a foreign master was the feminization of England, and the masculinization of Scotland, as James's home country was Scotland. This is reflected in union debates and Parliamentary proceedings regarding union debates. Despite James's profession that England would remain superior to Scotland, there continued to be worry voiced amongst English nobles and the populace about a potential Scottish takeover.

While James's accession relieved the kingdom due to the multiple heirs he brought with him, there was still uncertainty at his coming to the throne. The Tudor Dynasty was founded following decades of civil warfare in the form of the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485) and monarchical succession in England was rarely an easy affair. There was all the reason for those in England to be worried about a chaotic transition to a new dynasty. James's own accession to the Scottish throne as an infant was done at the expense of his mother, and his early years saw noble in-fighting which de-stabilized the country. Gaining the throne proved to be an easier task; what was more difficult was holding it. James addressed this issue by consistently emphasizing that it was providence which brought him to the English throne, as he was chosen by God to unite the British Isles under a common banner. Before exploring the exact nature of James's arrival to England, we must first understand the nature of English identity in the opening years of his reign, and the origins of the notion of England and Britain itself.

The Idea of Britain

The origin of the term Britain is detailed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a twelfth-century historian, in *Historia regum Britanniae*, or *The History of the Kings of Britain*.¹⁹ Rather than referring to the Celtic people, the Britons, the term Britain described here refers to the medieval legend of Brutus. According to Monmouth, in ancient times Brutus, a Trojan and great-grandson to Aeneas who partook in the establishment of Rome, founded London as a New Troy, and from this line descendants of British kings were born. The Tudor founder, Henry VII, was of Welsh descent, claiming upon his accession the Trojan-British race of monarchs was restored, giving the Tudors imperial power, ushering in a Golden Age.²⁰ The claims of this Arthurian legacy are in Henry VIII's tracing of his own lineage to the Plantagenets, an English royal dynasty, as he included this heraldry in sacred and secular places. Henry VII also named his first son and heir Arthur, showing the strength of the Arthurian legacy upon the time of his accession. Monmouth's work includes stories of the prophecies of Merlin, the reigns of King Lear and King Arthur, and the prophecy to Cadwallader which foretold the Britons regaining the island 'throne', drawing stories from Welsh legends.²¹

William Harbert, the Welsh author of *Prophecy of Cadwallader* (1604), an essay written in support of James's union plan, attempted to bring James into this fold by referring to him as a "our second Brute."²² The 'our' here is important as it made James a possession of and part of English history, and by calling him a Brute, it tied him directly to the supposed founder of Britain itself. Ben Jonson, a cultural powerhouse during the Jacobean era, portrayed the

¹⁹ Frances Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 10 (1947), 47.

²⁰ Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', 48.

²¹ Baker and Maley, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, 11

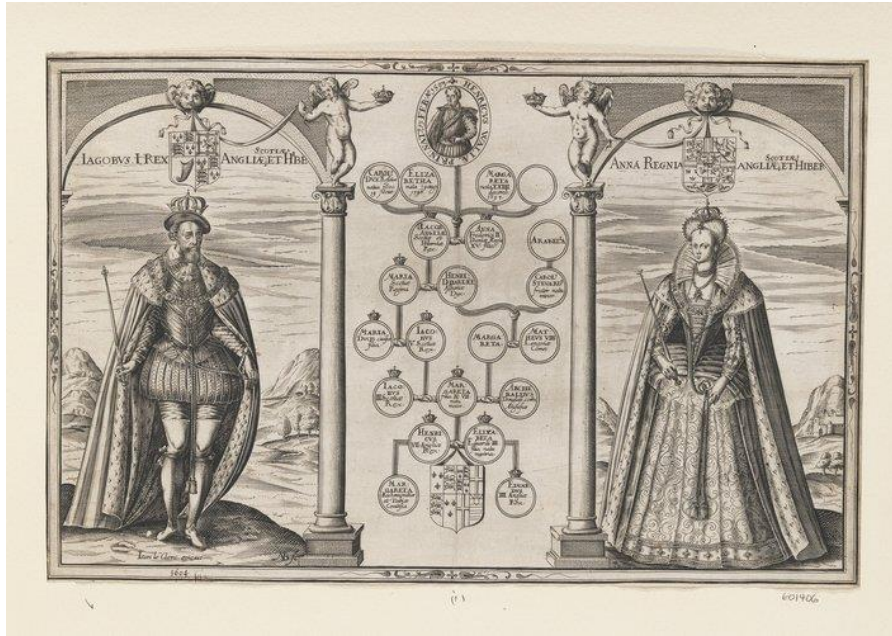
²² Andrew Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 147.

restoration of Britain as a revival of ‘ancient dignity’, and the return of Britannia was the restoration of a tradition previously lost.²³ In his play *Masque of Blackness*, performed in 1605, Jonson describes Britain as, “Britannia, which the triple world admires,/This isle hath now recovered her name;/With that great name, Britannia, this blest isle/ Hath won her ancient dignity and styles,/A world dived from the world, and tried/The abstract of it in his general pride.”²⁴ Jonson and other court propagandists worked tirelessly to form ties between James and England, placing him in conversation with figures of the past and arguing that his accession ushered in a new glorious age of English history in which Britannia was reborn again. The rebirth of Britain under James proved his providential role as the King of England, as he was to usher the British into a new Golden Age.

These mythologies when combined with Renaissance humanism, meant nobility in England identified Britishness with Roman civility, which was important when attempts to establish overseas empire began. James’s lineage from the Tudors gave him claim to this ancient mythological British line, and like Henry VII he was the founder of a dynasty, meaning his reign was providential. The focus on his common heritage with the Tudors is reflected in woodcut images, showing James and his wife Anne’s genealogical origins and their right to travel south and rule England. One of these woodcuts was Nicholaas de Bruyn’s 1604 engraving of James and Anne, with Henry VII at the top of the genealogical tree:

²³ Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England*, 149.

²⁴ Ben Jonson, *Masque of Blackness* (1605), cited in Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England*, 149.



Nicholas de Bruyn's 1604 engraving of James and Anne, with Henry VII at the top of the genealogical tree. Mark McDonald, *The Print Collections of Cassiano dal Pozzo, I: Ceremonies, Costumes, Portraits and Genre*. 3 vols. Royal Collection Trust 2017, part of the *Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: A Catalogue Raisonné*. Cat. No. 1366.

Indeed, in one of the proclamations preceding James's arrival to London his genealogy was traced:

By the divers direct loins to Brutus,...and from him to Cadwalader, the last King of the British blood...wherein is plainly shewed his rightful Title...as well to the Kingdome of Brittainne, as to the Principalities of Northwales and Southwales...Where also is handled the worthy descent of his Majesties ancestor Owen Tudor, and his affinity with most of the greatest Princes of Christendom²⁵

Here there is direct linkage between James, Brutus and Cadwalader, making him the true ruler of the British. This work was published after the coronation ceremonies took place, as the good word of James's accession and the nature of his coronation processions were widely printed.

Andrew Melville, a Scottish author and theologian, described James as "Rex Britanniarum", as

²⁵ George Owen Harry, *The genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Brittainne* (London, 1604) in "The English Accession of James VI: 'National' Identity, Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England", Judith M. Richards, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 117, No. 472, (Jun., 2002): 521.

he was the king of the “Britannias.”²⁶ As someone not of pure English blood, James reminded his new subjects he too derived from the same noble line as Henry VIII and Elizabeth, the two dominant personalities in sixteenth-century England. Those who created James’s pageantry and progress through the streets of London following his coronation emphasized his English lineage, and his role as the future King of Britain.

James’s Arrival in England

James’s accession proclamation announced his lineage through the Tudor line, although there was no reference to ‘natural’ subjects, as this phrase was commonly used in Tudor propaganda to delineate the monarch’s pure English blood.²⁷ James attempted to use naturalizing language to justify his rule, arguing as a divinely chosen ruler he was the natural ruler of these kingdoms. A 1603 song on James’s Tudor bloodline, *A New Song to the Great Comfort and Rejoicing to all True English Harts at our Most Gracious King James His Proclamation Upon the 24 of March Last Past in the City of London*, was one of a few genealogical productions produced after 1603.²⁸ In another of James’s accession proclamations his descent is traced back to Noah, stretching through Biblical time to argue while he was not born in England, he was one of a long line of kings before him who ruled England. James’s accession proclamations were sent out ahead of his arrival in England, preparing them for his arrival and the celebrations which would accompany it.

James left Edinburgh on April 4th 1603, planning to arrive in London after Elizabeth’s funeral on April 28th, officially arriving in London on May 7th.²⁹ In James’s accession

²⁶ A.H. Williamson, ‘Britain and the Beast: The Apocalypse and the Seventeenth-Century Debate about the Creation of the British State’, *Millenarianism and Messianisms in Early Modern European Culture: The Millenarian Turn*, (Dordrecht, Netherlands, 2001), 15.

²⁷ Richards, ‘The English Accession of James VI’, 518.

²⁸ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 13.

²⁹ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, xiii

proclamation local officials were told to prevent “disorderly assemblies, or other unlawful Act or Attempt, either in word or deed...any way prejudicial to the Right, Honor, State or Person, of our only undoubted and dear Lord and Sovereign that now is.”³⁰ Bonfires and bells, an important part of English celebrations, were provided by local authorities so the English people could warmly welcome their new sovereign. Bell-ringing was part of Catholic cultural tradition, meaning there was some suspicion of using these for Protestant celebrations, but as this became incorporated into English Protestant traditions it was imbued with new meaning.³¹ On April 4th, 1603, James commissioned an engraving for two new signets, with the union of the arms of England and Scotland, as a visual symbol of the unity between the two.³² The entertainments and displays for James’s London entrance were completed by Thomas Dekker and Ben Jonson, with the actual design of the triumphal arches done by Stephen Harrison.³³ All three men were artists patronized by James. Dekker’s work *Magnificent Entertainment* describes the events of the day itself, the details in the processions and who commissioned which arches. Dekker details the streets as paved with people and although “Glasse windows [were] taken down, but in there places sparkled so many eyes that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to have made one.”³⁴ The first arch at Fenchurch street, designed by Ben Jonson, contained the crowns of England and Scotland, alongside a figure of Britain who in her lap had the inscription “Orbis Britannicus, Divius ab Orbe.”³⁵

³⁰ Richards, ‘The English Accession of James VI’, 518.

³¹ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 26.

³² *Warrant Book*, I., p. 59. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1603-1610

³³ Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d: The Culture of the Stuart court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), 1-2.

³⁴ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d*, 3.

³⁵ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d*, 5.

The references to Britain continued, as the first triumphal arch depicted the Genius of the City in dialogue with God of the Thames, telling the story of the founding of Britain through spoken dialogue when James approached. In this dialogue the River is told, “When BRUTUS plough first gave thee infant bonds/And I, they GENIUS walk’t auspicious rounds/In every furrow; then did I forelooke,/And saw this day mark’t white in CLOTHO’s book,/The several circles, both of change and sway,/Within this Isle, there also figur’d lay:/OF which the greatest, perfectest, and last/Was this, who present happiness we taste.”³⁶ James’s arrival to England is portrayed as a prophecy coming to fruition. Sir Robert Cotton wrote that James intended to “revive some ancient name [Britain] as most indifferently hath comprehended both yet Kingdoms: neither ariseth any fitter than Brittain since it was the name of the single kingdom some 2000 years before...great Constantine took ye title Brittanicus, a glorious addition to the style Imperial.”³⁷ The idea of James’s accession as restoring ancient heritage lent itself to the narrative James developed of his divine mission to rule, as well as his campaign to unite the two countries. The revival of ancient Britain and its legacy put England on par with the Romans, another imperial legend. The return of a king with two legitimate male heirs was welcomed with relief, as seen by John Fenton’s writings where he said, “I must confess that in Elizae’s prime, we never did enjoy a happier time [...] But now, (O blessed now) we have a King.”³⁸ This same sentiment was echoed in *Northern Poems* with the passage, “A happier change we could have never none,/Then King with issue store by Lawful wife.”³⁹ The security James brought with him

³⁶ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d*, 6.

³⁷ Richards, ‘The English Accession of James VI’, 521.

³⁸ J. Fenton, *King James His Welcome to London With Elizae’s Tomb and Epitaph, and Our Kings Triumph and Epitomie*, quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 13.

³⁹ *Northern Poems*, p. 11 quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 16.

is not to be underestimated as it addressed one of the continuing anxieties of Elizabeth's reign, the question of succession.

James's Coronation

The message of coronation and entry entertainments on the mystical properties of kingship, which was no mere coincidence as James's work *Basilicon Doron* was reprinted in London in 1604 and quickly circulated amongst his new subjects.⁴⁰ *Basilicon Doron* was written for James's oldest son and heir, Henry Frederick, as an advice manual on how to be a good king. While it served as such, it was also written with the knowledge it would be publicly circulated, as James was able to indirectly tell his new subjects what they should expect of him as their king. Despite the celebrations, Arthur Wilson, an English historian, in his work *The Life and Reign of James the First* (1653) described him during this process as:

He endured this day's brunt with patience, being assured he should never have another; and his triumphal riding to the Parliament that followed. But afterward his public appearances (especially in his sports) the accesses of the people made him impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with curses.⁴¹

James's supposed frustration with public processions and intimate public interactions in which the monarch was expected to speak to the crowd, listen attentively to speeches at various stop-points in the procession and give gifts to those who spoke at triumphal arches is a notable departure from Elizabeth's public performances. Despite the popular myth James was unskilled at this type of public presentation, he proved successful in his first greeting of the English and was carefully engaged in public contact with his new subjects, taking six weeks to travel from Scotland to London. During this time, he made sure listened to sermons in his chapel, processing

⁴⁰ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, 19. His work *Basilicon Doron* was a guide to rulership, written for his son but ultimately addressed to a wider audience and will be discussed in detail later.

⁴¹ Arthur Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James the First*, quoted in Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, 13.

to and from the chapel, as a display of his devotion to religion. While these early efforts were noteworthy, James did put himself at arm's length from his subjects, and in his coronation oath he emphasized the power he held over them as their lawful king.

The coronation oath followed many of the traditions in the medieval Catholic text, *Liber Regalis*, although since the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), the text was altered to fit the new Protestant style. This work included specifications of the monarchs' actions prior to the ceremony, readings and liturgy for the funeral of the deceased monarch.⁴² The anointing of monarchs came from the coronation of Charlemagne as the Holy Roman Emperor in 800, and anointing with oil imitated rites for the consecration of bishops.⁴³ As the monarch's body became holy, they were imbued with spiritual power, which was all the more significant when combined with their place as Head of the Church of England. The coronation oath declared the king to be God's anointed, tasked with dispensing justice and ruling his people fairly. As the Head of the Church of England, one of James's new responsibilities was to ensure religious conformity in England.

James presided over the Hampton Court Conference, attempting to demonstrate immediately upon his entrance to the realm that he was a Solomonic figure, a wise and pious man ushering in a new Golden Age in England. The Hampton Court Conference was called for immediately after James entered England, and was held in 1604. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the best way to ensure conformity throughout parish churches in localities across England, and find solutions for what to do with clergy who refused to adhere to this conformity.⁴⁴ James issued a proclamation prior to calling the Hampton Court Conference stating

⁴² Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 20.

⁴³ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 13.

⁴⁴ J.R. Tanner (ed.), *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 56-57.

he would not tolerate “gathering subscriptions of multitudes of vulgar persons’ who ‘seditiously seek reformation”, rather this was something only he as head of the church and state could do, and as a Solomonic figure it was God’s prerogative that he do so.⁴⁵

In James coronation oath he, “willingly promise to his people, to discharge honorably and truly the office given him by God over them.”⁴⁶ Here he vowed to be just and reasonable in the office bestowed upon him, or rather that he inherited by birthright and conquest, and through these dual mechanisms he promised to bring together his two kingdoms via union.⁴⁷ In 1607 James declared, “And for Scotland I avow such a union, as if you had got it by conquest, but such a conquest as may be cemented by love, the only sure bond of subjection or friendship: that there is over both but *unus Rex*, so there may be in both but *unus Grex* and *una Lex*.”⁴⁸ Even while asserting his absolute right to rule England, James was careful to affirm he wanted to bring just and godly rule to his new subjects, and to rule them as he did his native Scotland. In a 1604 proclamation James told the English to consider themselves “one people, brethren, and members of one body”, later adding “He that doth not love a Scotsman as his brother or the Scotchman that loves not an Englishman as his brother is a traitor to God and the King.”⁴⁹

The English Reception of James

Despite his best efforts, there seemed to be no love lost between the Scots and English, although importantly, the English did not view the Scots with the same disdain as they did the

⁴⁵ Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 62.

⁴⁶ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 22.

⁴⁷ James had a third party to contend with upon his accession, the Irish. While there is evidence of his accession proclamation being circulated in Ireland, it does not seem that there was anything outside of the ordinary to mark his succession to the English throne, and his primary focus on coming to England was the union of Scotland and England, and he seemed to be less focused on the Irish aspect.

⁴⁸ James I, *A Speech...Delivered the Last Day of March 1607*, in *Political Writings*, pp. 161-2.

⁴⁹ Brian Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union, 1603-1607*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 179.

Irish. Both groups were an ‘other’, as the Scots were not English, but the Irish were even more so an ‘other’ as they were not English and many were Catholic. The Scots were similar enough to the English to warrant some level of respect, but the English still saw themselves as superior. The derogatory attitude towards the Scots is further evidenced in English essayist Francis Osburne’s *Traditional Memories* (1658) describing the Scots as, “They bet our lands, our goods, our lives/They switch our nobles, and live with our wives;/They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers, they stab our sergeants and pistol our fencers.”⁵⁰ In 1607 Sir Christopher Piggot, a member of the English Parliament, accused the Scots of being thieves, murderers, and committing regicide.⁵¹ A satirical verse, thought to have been penned in 1603, contrasted James’s poverty in Scotland with the luxury he found in England, “Then bonny Scot well witness can; Twas England that made thee a gentleman.”⁵² The poverty of Scotland is mocked, and James is depicted here as a gentleman only upon his entry to England, as this was impossible in Scotland. Despite this, James continued to have a positive outlook on his English rule as well as his journey down to England.

In the first session of Parliament in 1603-4 James portrayed his optimism regarding his reception by the English people:

Shall it ever be blotted out of my mind how at my first entry into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me; their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy, their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members in their gestures discovering a passionate longing and earnestness to meet and embrace their new Sovereign?⁵³

⁵⁰ Levack, *The Formation of the British State*, 194.

⁵¹ Levack, *The Formation of the British State*, 195.

⁵² Satirical verses on James I, contrasting his poverty in Scotland with his luxury in England. *The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I 1623-1625*, p. 565.

⁵³ Wallace Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), 55. Notestein cites this quote from James in the *Common Journals*, 1, pg. 142.

He proposes a hypothetical of ‘how could he ever forget’ the welcome and warm nature of his greeting in England. In his address to Parliament James spoke of “the blessings which God hath in my person bestowed upon you all, wherein I protest I do more glory at the same for your weal than for any particular respect of mine own reputation or advantage therein.”⁵⁴ James portrays himself as a gift to the English people given by God, while promising to rule more for their sake than his own. Ralph Winwood, an English statesman, wrote of James’s arrival as a providential gift from God, “He hath sent us a King in a flower and strength of his years, a prince wise, sober, discreet, nowise debauched, or given over to pleasures, pious and religious, more learned in all kinds of good letter than any prince whatsoever of whom stories either ancient or modern have left us any memory.”⁵⁵ This notion of providence was one of the defining threads of James’s rule in England, as he was the bringer of peace, and the long awaited unifier of Britain. Winwood was not the only one attempting to flatter James, in a letter penned by John Chamberlain, an English Parliamentarian, described the arrival of the king as, “These bountiful beginnings shall raise all men’s spirits and put them in great hopes, in so much that not only protestants but papists and puritans and the very poets with their idle pamphlets promise themselves a great part in his favor.”⁵⁶ The arrival of a king is assumed to usher in a new Golden Age.

While there may have been kind words spoken by those who wished to flatter the king in their bid for power and advantage, there were reports of grumblings of the reception of James by his new subjects. The French ambassador Rosny wrote of the disdain the English expressed towards the Scots and their new Scottish king, a reflection of xenophobic tendencies, likely

⁵⁴ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 55. Notestein derives this quote from Charles H. McIlwain, eds., *The Political Works of James I*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918), 270.

⁵⁵ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 56.

⁵⁶ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 56. Notestein cites this from N.E. McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), 1:192.

heightened due to the retinue of Scots James brought with him.⁵⁷ The large retinue of Scots James brought with him may have been a contributing factor to the Main Plot and Bye Plot, as this influx of Scots heightened fears of a foreign takeover. James's entry into London in March of 1604 speaks to the efforts put into portraying him as the true heir to the English throne and this iconography became part and parcel of his reign, displaying the underlying current of worry about his ability to connect with his new subjects. The common thread of Protestantism and hopes for its furtherance assisted in this mission, as it drew upon tropes present during Elizabeth's reign, and need to protect Protestantism from internal and foreign threats, something already present in English identity.

When James came to the throne he focused on justifying his rule, arguing for its divine origins and pushing forward his union project. He argued a united British empire under a strong ruler would best serve the two countries but he faced challenges from his nobles in attempting to complete this project. While he was an experienced ruler, he was a foreigner handed a near impossible task: live up to the legacy of Elizabeth I and successfully rule a country which was not his homeland. The last years of Elizabeth's reign were troublesome, as many were waiting for her to pass, but the legacy and mythology of her reign, however removed from reality, were difficult if not impossible standards. James came to the throne with promise, as his rule represented the return of a king, something England waited fifty years for. James argued he needed to complete a divine mission: the reunion of Christendom under the banner of true religion, i.e. Protestantism.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 58-60.

⁵⁸ The exact nature of James's religious beliefs will not be discussed here, as this would include a path down a long and contested historiography, which while important, does not necessarily relate to the argument at hand.

The Union Project

As James was the king of both Scotland and England a personal union happened between the two countries through his body, but there had yet to be a union in law or religion. He addressed Parliament in 1604:

What God hath conjoined then, let no man separate. I am the husband and all the whole isle is my lawful wife; I am the head, and it is my body...I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to think that I am a Christian king under the Gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the head, should have a divided and monstrous body.⁵⁹

Here he references the monarch being married to their country, and as a good Protestant he could not enter into a marriage with two separate 'wives', as this was bigamous. James uses language typically seen in marital vows, referencing the trope of the monarch as head of the state and married to the country itself. He argues for the monarch to be over two countries and not have them united was creating an unholy union, and for this union to be blessed the two countries must be joined. If the head of a country was divided this created something unnatural, potentially causing rift and discord in the two realms. Instead he supported the joining of these two, arguing it would only make England and Scotland stronger.

Gendered conceptions of power play an important role in James's portrayal of his power and prerogative. Writings on women attempted to regulate and codify behavior, and debates regarding women's behavior appeared in print.⁶⁰ Laws and notions on women found their origin in religious writings, biology, legal traditions and intellectual theories.⁶¹ Women were typically identified by the role they played in the family, while men were associated with the office they held, and in James's case this applied to his role as a biological father to his children and his role

⁵⁹ McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 447.

⁶⁰ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 17-22.

⁶¹ Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 43-44.

as king of Scotland and England. These gendered conceptions of power, with women playing a private role and men a public one, mimicked views on marital relations due to the hierarchical nature of both.⁶² As a father and king, James possessed a unique type of public power, as he was owed obedience not only from his family, but from the political nation.

James's push for union brought about the exciting possibility in the combination of the two strong Protestant countries; an alliance to challenge the tyrannical forces of Roman hegemony, an idea appealing to devout believers. As a united Britain under James's auspices, the combined forces of England and Scotland provided a bastion to "stymie the forces of unrighteousness, the Spanish empire and the Roman church."⁶³ As the husband and head of the realm, James was married to the *corpus mysticum* of his two kingdoms. The gendering of the union and displaying it in terms of a literal marriage fit within Protestant rhetoric depicting marriage as a most holy sacrament.⁶⁴ Protestant valorization of marriage was depicted in English writers' work including Edmund Tilney's *A Brief and Pleasant Discourse of Duties of Marriage, called the Flower of Friendship*, dedicated to Elizabeth, and Thomas Pritchard's *The School of Honest and Virtuous Life* (1579). Depictions of obedience in England were often gendered, as women were expected by the patriarchy to willingly obey their fathers and then husbands. This metaphor became troublesome when it was a foreign male monarch who 'married' England. To garner support for the union, James turned to Sir Francis Bacon, an English writer and statesman, who he asked to create a set of articles outlining the need for union based on historical precedent, as there was a long history in favor of this argument, as well as contemporary depictions supporting the union project. The rise of cartography was a new medium for the union to be

⁶² Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 71-5.

⁶³ McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 446.

⁶⁴ McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 458.

imagined, as seen in cartographer John Speed's 1611 *Theatre*, an atlas of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.⁶⁵ The use of 'theatre' highlights Speed's legacy from Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) an atlas critical in the rise of cartography and visual depiction of landed spaces with identity markers attached to them. Maps are a visual way to imagine the space where one lives, and the rise of cartography made visual representations of England more accessible to the populace. The increased interactions between the localities and central areas, mainly London, allowed for transmission of ideas, people and goods. The identity attached to landed spaces was important, as any type of union would mean rewriting of maps to reflect the majesty of the Stuart dynasty.

There was biblical precedent to draw from in the union project, specifically Solomon and David, as they united the Israelites, giving divine sanction to James's quest for union.⁶⁶ English writer William Cornwallis's tracts *Rapta Tatio* and *Pro Unione* argued it was a necessity for James to unify Scotland and England. The idea of union as in the king's hands alone was important, as it tapped into fears of absolute rule if James pushed the union without Parliamentary agreement. David Hume of Godscroft, a Scottish historian, while seeming to support James said, "It might be deemed doubtful whether all innovation is dangerous and ought to be avoided. Aren't some kinds of innovation necessary? Not of course when we have achieved perfection, but sometimes its necessary for old practices to be recalled and things to be restored to what they were originally, especially if the deviations are of long standing and sanctioned by tradition."⁶⁷ What David Hume is referring to is fear of "strict *jure divino* Presbyterian religious

⁶⁵ Walker and Maley, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, 135.

⁶⁶ Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD, 1986) 32.

⁶⁷ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, xv.

uniformity.”⁶⁸ Hume argues James had to share his subjects religious traditions, as he would not be joined with them otherwise. Hume advocated for intermarriage of English and Scottish, encouraging English settlers to move and place roots in remote areas of Scotland.⁶⁹

The union of Scotland and England necessarily required religious settlement between the two countries, as the unity between church and state meant any type of political union would mean a religious one.⁷⁰ The idea of one single ruler who oversaw two separate state churches did not fit with the model of the English church where the ruler played a critical part in ecclesiastical policy. As the English monarch was the Head of the Church of England and exercised ecclesiastical power, it was difficult to argue how one could be both the living embodiment of the English church and the ruler of a separate church with different traditions, rules, and religious culture. The Scottish and English Reformations began in dramatically different fashions, as the English largely managed to avoid the type of political and religious chaos the Scottish experienced in their transition from Catholicism to Protestantism. The religious settlements were similar but had important differences between the two, making a merger arduous. The Elizabethan Settlement established a system which while Protestant, retained some of the pomp and ceremony of its Roman predecessor. The Scottish system was more Reformed in nature and doctrine as it relied upon synods and assemblies.⁷¹ Both settlements were firmly attached to the cultural traditions of the Scotland and England, and were part of religious and popular culture in both countries. In England, the role of Parliament in enacting religious change was not forgotten, as Parliament was critical in ecclesiastical settlement during the reign of the Tudors, and with

⁶⁸ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, xv.

⁶⁹ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, xix.

⁷⁰ Levack, *The Formation of the British State*, 105.

⁷¹ Levack, *The Formation of the British State*, 121.

James Parliament envisioned themselves as kingmakers and upholders of true religion and state power. The Scottish Parliament was not dissimilar in the assertion of its power and prerogative.

In 1604, a group of MP's in the House of Commons released the *Apology*, arguing Parliament's authority was buttressed by its masculine nature.⁷² Parliament argued its dedication to true religion made it a bastion and preserver of its prerogative, and its role in putting James on the English throne made it a kingmaker:

Although it may be true in the late times of Queen Elizabeth one privilege now and then were by some particular act attempted against...yet was not the same ever as by published speech nor by positions in general denounced against our own privileges. Besides that in respect of her sex and age which we had cause to tender, and much more upon care to avoid all trouble which by wicked practices might have been drawn to impeach the quiet of your Majesty's right to the succession, those actions were then passed over which we hoped, in succeeding times...to redress, restore and rectify.⁷³

The transgressions referred here were Elizabeth's outbursts regarding talk of her foreign policy and marital diplomacy. James retorted, using metaphors of marital union, harkening back to the language employed by Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII on the nature of supreme headship. James furthermore reinforced in his retort during the prorogation of Parliament in 1604 his descent from the Tudor bloodline that made him the natural king of England and undoubtedly Elizabeth's true successor, as a reminder of his divine prerogative to rule.⁷⁴

Marriage Metaphors in the Union Project

James promised his new subjects the marriage between England and Scotland was one of love, not domination, as it would result in Great Britain, a kingdom united in its defense of the

⁷² McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 465.

⁷³ McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 465.

⁷⁴ J.P. Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688, Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 36-38.

True Church. In the closing of the 1604 Parliament the Speaker acknowledged the imperial nature of James's rule by calling upon Roman figures saying:

Trojanus called his senate his father; for as the father doth foretell his son of the good or ill that may befall him, so ought the senate to admonish the king of things profitable, and unprofitable, to him and the state. The Roman magistrate therefore said, My mother hath brought me into the world of mild and gentle disposition, sed respublica me severum fecit:...And though, during the time of these our parliamentary counsels, we have...presumed of you, as our king, but more of you, as our good kings, but most of all to you, as a most absolute good man, to propound, dispute, assent, and dissent, freely.⁷⁵

The evocation of classical figures and the prophetic beginning of James's reign gave him a valuable propaganda tool, a necessity as the idea of union was not entirely welcome.

Parliament further reminded James as a good king he should allow Parliament to dispute freely things he said or laws he supported. In comparing James to Roman rulers, the Speaker argued James emulated these classical virtues, and confirmed his imperial status in England and Scotland.

The issue with using mixed marriage metaphors describing the union between England and Scotland was that James was Scottish, meaning Scotland was figured as male and therefore bridegroom, with England as the bride and the female partner in the relationship. Here then, England was the obedient partner in the union:

Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord...For the husband is the wife's head, even as Christ is the head of the Church[...]Therefore as the church is in subjection to Christ, even so let the wives be to their husbands in everything...Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the church[...]So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies: he that loves his wife, loves himself...For no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, even as the Lord doth the church. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons*, pp. 254-5.

⁷⁶ Ephesians 5:22-5, 28-30.

Wives are told to be obedient to their husbands, setting the tone for gender roles throughout Europe, as patriarchal literature portrayed women as the weaker sex and in need of control. The idea of wifely obedience was critical in the context of the union, for England as the bride was subordinate to not only Scotland, as the bridegroom, but to was the greater partner in the union with Scotland, meaning England possessed masculine powers. This did not necessarily assuage fears of England being feminized, as a portion of James's power was dependent upon his male body, and in speeches, essays and letters he consistently cast himself as the father to his people and father to both England and Scotland. To paint himself as submissive and therefore to emasculate himself would weaken his public presentation as a strong male ruler.

The doctrine of Christ as head of the church is echoed in preexisting language in England developed during the Reformations, when the monarch was granted ecclesiastical powers and privileges. English theologian and essayist William Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties* (1622) outlines the notion of husband or father as king in his own house and when applied to a king this extended to his power over the kingdom. With James's accession, he formed a new dynasty, as announced in the 1604 Act of Recognition arguing for a 'wedding' of the Scottish sovereign to English subjects based on James's blood heritage.⁷⁷ James's Protestantism meant propagandists, such as Thomas Dekker in 1603, portrayed James's rule as divinely ordained, a true king with legitimate heirs. Dekker referred to his accession as, "this fort-five years wonder now brought forth by time...this treasure of a kingdom (a man-ruler) hid for so many years from us." The 'hiding' of a male ruler and his arrival meant England was now feminized and expected to obey. In 1607 in a speech before Parliament James argued for England's superiority and masculine nature saying, "Can you imagine I will respect the lesser, and neglect the greater?", "You are the

⁷⁷McLaren, 'Monogamy, Polygamy, and the true state of James I's Rhetoric of Empire', 462.

husband, they the wife: you conquerors, they as conquered.”⁷⁸ He described the union process as “little brooks lose their names by their running and fall into great Rivers, and the very name and memories of great Rivers swallowed up in the Ocean”, with the Scots here being figured as the little brooks to be swallowed up by the might of England.⁷⁹

James’s View on Kingship

In James’s 1610 address to the Lords and Commons at Parliament detailed not only his views on kingship, but the reasoning behind his expected obedience of his subjects. He described monarchy as the “supremest thing on earth. For kings are not only God’s lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God’s throne, but even by God themselves they are called gods.”⁸⁰ In his discussion of the king as like the head of the household James says:

Kings are also compared to the father of families, for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man [...] As for the father of the family, they had of old under the law of nature *patram potestatem*, which was *potestatem vitae et necis*, over their children or family.⁸¹

The idea of the king as the head of the state, in a manner like the husband and/or father as the head of the family was of course not new, and was used previously by those such as Henry VIII. What is different here was James’s confident and continuous articulate declaration of the divine nature of his rule. He described the power of kingship as akin to divinity, and “to dispute what God may do is blasphemy”, and therefore to dispute the king’s wishes was akin to questioning

⁷⁸ Sarah Waurechen, ‘Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain: English Responses to James VI and I’s Vision of Perfect Union’, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (July 2013), 581.

⁷⁹ Neil Rhodes, Jennifer Richards, and Joseph Marshall, eds., *King James VI and I: Selected Writings* (Aldershot, 2003), 296-97.

⁸⁰ James VI and I, *A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall*, (1610), quoted in David Wooton, eds., *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writings in Stuart England*, (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003), 107.

⁸¹ James VI and I, *A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall*, 108-109. Quoted in McLaren, ‘Monogamy, Polygamy, and the True State’, 474-475.

God's will.⁸² While Elizabeth was no stranger to reminding Parliament of her own prerogative, as a woman she was often more careful in her expressions of power. James was a seasoned monarch who did not shy away from arguing for the divine and sacred nature of his rule. James promised to be "willing to make the reason appear of all my doing, and rule my actions according to my laws."⁸³ In his project to unify England and Scotland, James continuously asserted he was a wise and just king.

In an October 20th, 1604 proclamation James referenced one imperial crown, and argued God showed his approval of this one crown by "so many palpable signs and arguments as he that see them not is blind [...] union is the work of God and nature, and whereto the workers of force or policy cannot attain."⁸⁴ In the same proclamation James declared "Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regal Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in manner and form hereafter expressed, the Name and Stile of King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland."⁸⁵ James described the 'Name and Stile' as taken from "the true and ancient Name, which God and Time have imposed upon this Isle, extant and received in Histories, in all Maps and Carts, wherein the Isles is described."⁸⁶ His statement harkens to the importance of maps and map-making as mentioned previously, as well as the origins of Britain itself. In the proclamation announcing the potential name change James argued, "the Isle within itself has almost none but imaginary bounds of separation without, but one common limit or rather Guard of the Ocean Sea, making the whole a little world and mind."⁸⁷ The Succession to the Crown Act of 1603, *A most joyful and just recognition of the*

⁸² James VI and I, *A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall*, 108-109.

⁸³ James VI and I, *A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall*, 108-109.

⁸⁴ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, 7.

⁸⁵ Walker and Maley, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, 136.

⁸⁶ Walker and Maley, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, 136.

⁸⁷ James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, eds. *Stuart Royal Proclamations* (2 vols., Oxford, 1973-80),

immediate, lawful and undoubted Succession, Descent and Right of the Crown, was passed in Parliament, claiming James inherited the throne “by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession”, and declared him as the legitimate king “of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.”⁸⁸

Styling as ‘King of Britain’

In James’s first English Parliament in 1604 preliminary discussions for the Union began as the Lords and Commons worked together to address the best way to enact it. Sir Henry Montague, the first earl of Manchester, gave a report from the Lords, “They recognized that the use of two distinct names for the two kingdoms was an offense and proposed that the two nations might now be styled Great Britain.”⁸⁹ This was followed by a debate where Francis Bacon, a philosopher and member of Parliament, addressed the legal implications of this union, proposing James could be called emperor instead. In a conference between the Lords and Commons there were objections against the term Britain because “The English would lose the ancient name of England, so famous and victorious. Yet it was as Britain that the nation held track with the Romans in their greatness”, as the English imagined themselves to soon possess a vast empire.⁹⁰ If the English were to lose their noble name and be subsumed to the name of Britain, they would lose of their identity, and glorious past. The tie to the heritage and history of England was an identity marker, and represented patriotic pride in the name itself.

Volume 1, 95.

⁸⁸ Proclamation on the Accession of King James. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*. Ed. M. S. Guiseppi. Vol. 15: 1603. London, England: Hist Majesty’s Stationery Office, p1.

⁸⁹ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 79. Pulled from *Commons Journal*, 1:171, 946.

⁹⁰ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 79.

James created a new Great Seal, depicting himself enthroned with both fleurs-de-lis and roses, portraying himself as the ruler of both England and France.⁹¹ The English monarchs claimed themselves as ruler of France following a fight over the succession of the French crown during the 100 Year's War. In 1422 the French king Charles VI passed the French crown to Henry V of England, and despite the Estates-General in France excluding the English from the succession, from this point forward English monarchs claimed to be kings of France.⁹² The newly commissioned Great Seal contained an image of a Scottish Lion, the royal arms of England, a reference to Cadwallader and the king's legend reading "Iacobus dei gratia scotiae franciae et hiberniae rex fidei defensor."⁹³ While the word 'Anglia' is left out of this descriptor, this is not necessarily unusual, as James seemed to be focused more on denoting the specific countries as coming together as one.

James gave instructions to the Commons in 1604 to begin the union project and to not acknowledge "Gods benefit so freely offered unto us is to spit and blaspheme in his face by preferring war to peace, troubles to quietness, hatred to love, weakness to strength and division to union."⁹⁴ James's proclamation on his new style was read from pulpits across England, and some of his speeches to Parliament were made available to the public in 1616 when his *Workes* were printed, containing a portion of his essays, poetry, and other pieces of writing.⁹⁵ James's new style was never ratified by statute, and was confirmed only by proclamation. There were

⁹¹ W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols., 1887-1900), 1, p. 56. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 79.

⁹² For more information refer to Anne Curry's *The Hundred Years War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁹³ Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 79. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 79.

⁹⁴ James VI and I's letter to the Commons concerning union, 1 May 1604, TNA, State Papers Domestic 9/208, f.5. Quoted in Waurechen, 'Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain', 581.

⁹⁵ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I: Selected Writings*, 17. These works were printed in the vernacular, meaning they were more easily accessible to the populace.

foreign governments who acquiesced to calling him ‘King of Great Britain’, but this was mostly out of diplomatic niceties.

While the name Britain has deep ties in the English imagination, it was not necessarily a term frequently used by the Tudors as they more often called upon their Anglo-Saxon roots. The English historical imagining of Britain when it was used often only applied to England itself, and frequently did not include Wales, Ireland or Scotland. Secretary of State John Herbert responded to these concerns over the name change by saying that using the term Britain would not harm England, as it continued to maintain its ‘dignities’ and ‘privileges’.⁹⁶ Francis Bacon later addressed changing of names, arguing it would not only cause confusion, but hurt English prestige.⁹⁷ Sir Edwin Sandys, a member of the House of Commons, responded to these debates, arguing in cases of other unions, conquests, marriages or elections there was never a union done under a third name:

We can give no laws to Britain because we are but parcel. Scotland cannot because it is another part. Together we cannot because several corporations [...] The king by oath at his coronation tied to maintain our liberties, etc. The subject by oath of allegiance tied to serve the King, to maintain all rights annexed to the Crown, etc. He may exact another oath to us. We have no warrant to require any of him.⁹⁸

Sandys was perhaps the loudest voice against the union, and here he reflects a fear later cited in a Commons debate, of the overreaching prerogative of the king and attempt to push through laws, sidestepping the legal system. Sandys urged James may be called ‘King of Brittany’ only when dealing with foreign princes, many of whom acquiesced to James’s request to be addressed by

⁹⁶ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 79-80.

⁹⁷ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 82.

⁹⁸ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 82-83.

this title.⁹⁹ Sandys citing of the English coronation oath was a weapon against James, as he argues in taking this oath James promised to protect his subjects, and if he continued this Union project he would harm his English citizens.

The Union debate, rule by a foreign monarch, overseas exploration, and religious struggles of the past few decades sparked concern over the question of what it meant to be English. Much of the contention regarding the Union was not just the use of the name Britain, but concern over the process of union, and any potential changes to the law. James told the Commons he wished for “only a Commission that it may be disputed considered upon and reported into you and then will you be your own Cooke so dress it as your list.”¹⁰⁰ Here he insinuates he only wanted the creation of a committee to decide the mechanism of unification. James argued the union was “inherent in his Majesties Royal Blood and Person” and from this point forward “further conjunction and nearness of mutual Love and friendship” would arise.¹⁰¹

Legacy of the English Common Law

Sir John Davies, the attorney general for Ireland, in his essay *Le Premier Report des Cases et Matters en Ley Resoules et Adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland* (1615) exemplifies English attachment to the common law, with debates in Parliament showing concern over legal changes potentially brought by union.¹⁰² Sir John Davies described the common law of England as not just written down and recorded by judges and lawmakers, but something

⁹⁹ Notes of a speech by Sir Edwin Sandys on Unions as being threefold: by marriage, by election, or by conquest. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1603-1610*, (April 25 ? 1604).

¹⁰⁰ James’s Letter to the Commons Concerning Union, 1 May 1604, TNA, State Papers Domestic 9/208, f. 5. Quoted in Waurechen, ‘Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain’, 580.

¹⁰¹ Waurechen, *Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain*, 581.

¹⁰² Sir John Davies, *Le Premier Report des Cases et Matters en Ley Resoules et Adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland* (1615).

existing in the memory of the people, thus weaving it into the fabric of Englishness and becoming important in patriotic sentiment.¹⁰³ He describes this custom as growing into perfection:

And this customary law is the most perfect and excellent, and without comparison the best to make and preserve commonwealth [...] So the customary law of England, which we do likewise call *jus commune*, as coming nearest to the law of nature, which is the root and touchstone of all good laws, and which is also *jus non scriptum*, and written only in the memory of man [...] Here I may observe for the honor of our nation, and of our ancestors who have founded this commonwealth wherein we live and enjoy so many felicities, that England, having a good and happy genius from the beginning, has been inhabited always with a virtuous and wise people, whoever embraced honest and good customs, full of reason and convenience, which being confirmed by common use and practice, and continued time out of mind, became the common law of the land.¹⁰⁴

English common law is related to the survival and perseverance of England, with stable law and support of the people, the commonwealth thrived. The people are an inseparable part of the law, as it is imbedded into English identity. There is an easily discernable element of patriotism in this work, and pride in the uniquely English element of the law codes allowing them to be a 'happy', 'virtuous', and 'wise' stock.

The legacy and importance of the common law is not to be underestimated, as the traditions from this were firmly interwoven into English society, identity and culture. John Hayward, a historian and politician, argued against this legalistic argument, positing it was illogical to think law remained stagnant:

Not only in the peaceable state of the realm, but not by any of the several conquerors thereof: not by Normans, Danes, Saxons; no not by the Romans, who usually changed the laws of all other countries which they brought under the sway

¹⁰³ Sir John Davies, *Le Premier Report des Cases et Matters en Lew Resoules et Adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland* (1616), quoted in David Wooton, eds., *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writings in Stuart England*, (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003), 131.

¹⁰⁴ Sir John Davies, *Le Premier Report des Cases et Matters en Lew Resoules et Adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland* (1616), 131-133.

of their sword: but that in all other changes, whether of inhabitants, or of state, the laws do still remain the same.¹⁰⁵

He argues here while the common law had a long and deep-rooted history, by design it was consistently changing. Despite whatever truths were present in this argument, there remained a sense of the inherent superiority of English laws. In 1607 Laurence Hyde, a member of the House of Commons, argued Scotland should follow English law:

I am persuaded that the commons and all the Scottish nation except some few great persons that have liberties unfit for subjects, as power to pardon treasons, felony, murder, manslaughter, and other like, would gladly yield to the subject of our laws.¹⁰⁶

Hyde argues the potential benefits Scotland would receive from adopting English laws was another reason for Scotland to acquiesce to English overlordship. The clear superiority of English law and its necessity to remain intact suited the desires of those who were opposed to the union based on potential changes to the common law, and would naturally create a power dynamic between Scotland and England, mimicking the one between Wales and England. Scotland did not support this type of power disparity on their side of the union argument, but perhaps more damningly, there was infighting amongst Scottish councilors regarding the question of union. The Scots never came to consensus on what they wished from the union, thus they never worked productively with England on this project.

English View of the Scots

As the Union debate raged on, James continued to stress the advantages of unification, arguing this would increase English territorial safety as Scotland provided a layer of protection

¹⁰⁵ John Hayward, *A Treatise of Union of the two Realms of England and Scotland* (London, 1604), 11, 35-46.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted by Conrad Russell in 'Composite Monarchies in Early Modern Europe: The British and Irish Example', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995), 145.

from foreign threats.¹⁰⁷ He argued it was part of God's plan for two countries who had once been at odds with one another be united, as God preferred peace to war. The anonymous essay, *The Divine Providence in the Mystical and Real Union of England and Scotland*, argued England and Scotland were "one Island unsevered, but closed and bounded with the Ocean."¹⁰⁸ James encouraged Parliament to create a border committee to resolve some of the union disputes.¹⁰⁹ In his concluding statement to the 1606-7 Parliament James expressed his frustration saying:

It is no marvel if men of that coat have neither hopes nor fears from me, and fear I shall be well advised, what I do with them...I am your King. I am placed to govern you, and shall answer for your errors; I am a man of flesh and blood and have my passions and affections as other men. I pray you, do not too far move me to do that which my power may tempt me unto.¹¹⁰

James's implicit threat to use the range of powers allocated to him as king did little to ease the fears of those already nervous about the union. In referencing his 'flesh and blood' body, he harkens to notion of the two bodies of the monarch, and through his immortal kingly body he promised to rule justly, but his human nature was prone to error. Therefore, the displeasure he felt over the Union project could potentially push him into the temptation of forcing his subjects to agree to his wishes. Parliamentary evidence shows fear of a forced constitutional change as a threat to its own prerogative.¹¹¹ The potential threat to Parliament's prerogative was accompanied by fear of anything harmful to the fabric of English identity itself.

¹⁰⁷ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 241.

¹⁰⁸ *The Divine Providence in the Mystical and Real Union of England and Scotland, both by nature & other coherence*, quoted in Waurechen, 'Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain', 589.

¹⁰⁹ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I: Selected Writings*, 309.

¹¹⁰ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 250.

¹¹¹ Levack, *The Formation of the British State*, 39.

The stage play *Eastward Ho!*, co-written by Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston, reflects conceptions of the Scots and how even in voyages, the Scots were an inescapable reality for the English:

And then you shall live freely there,/without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers,
or/Intelligencers-only a few industrious Scots, per-/haps, who, indeed, are
dispersed over the face of/the whole earth. But as for them, there are no/greater
friends to Englishmen and England, when/they are out on't, in the world, than
they are. And/for my part, I would a hundred thousand of 'em/were there, for we
are all one countrymen now,/ye know; and we should find ten times more/comfort
of them there than we do here.¹¹²

The odd nature of the relationship between Scotland and England made propagandist's presentation of Scotland a tricky one, as Scotland was at times argued to be under the thumb of the English, implying technically Scotland was already part of England. During Henry VIII's period of 'Rough Wooing' with Scotland in the 1540s, he pushed for a marriage between his son, Edward, and the queen of Scots, Mary, in the hopes of bringing Scotland into the English realm. Francis Bacon described the Scots as *alterinos*, arguing Scotland was in many ways quite familiar to England, especially given they were of the same religion.¹¹³ Cornwallis's pamphlet *Rapta Tatio* argued England was beholden to Scotland because, "They have bred us a King, they have brought him safe, they have brought him every way perfect; of nature, good; learning, great, virtues many; of issue fruitful; and on his head a crown, before he came here."¹¹⁴ James as a gift to England was something James repeatedly stated, arguing he was a providential ruler of the English by God's command, as he brought peace and ushered in an era of plenty.

¹¹² George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. R.W. Van Fossen (New York, 1990), III, iii, ll. 42-52.

¹¹³ Spedding, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, 315.

¹¹⁴ *Rapta Tatio*, F_{4v}, quoted in Waurechen, 'Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain', 593.

Sir Henry Spelman, an English historian, penned an essay in 1604 addressing the Union which spoke to fears of the noble nature of England being lost in all the changes, including but not limited to their memory and history:

If the honorable name of England be buried in the resurrection of Albion or Britannia, we shall change the golden beams of the sun for a cloudy day and drown the glory of a nation triumphant through all the world to restore the memory of an obscure and barbarous people, of whom no mention almost is made in any notable history author but is either to their own disgrace or at least to grace the trophies and victories of their conquerors the Romans, Picts and Saxons.¹¹⁵

Spelman's essay reflects fear of England being lost in the new Great Britain, as the memory of the once great nation would fade into memory. James responded to this by arguing Britain was "the true and ancient Name, which God and Time have imposed upon this Isle", and he was a new Brutus, which fit him within British mythology.¹¹⁶ The fiction of English history and the legacy of Britain, however removed from history, was important in the development of patriotic consciousness, where there was a shared feeling amongst the people of what it meant to be English.

Naturalization

The naturalization of the Scots was one of the most contentious debates regarding the union, as a faction of English courtiers attached various damning stereotypes to the Scots as less civilized than themselves. Regarding court politics, the arrival of Scotsmen onto English soil and into English court created issues, as James brought with him several nobles who served him closely, which was not received well by the faction of English courtiers who held deep prejudice against the Scots. Fear of foreigners and a foreign court taking over were in Scottish history not

¹¹⁵ Henry Spelman, 'Of the Union' in Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England*, 144.

¹¹⁶ Francis Bacon, *A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England, and Scotland* (London, 1603), Ar.

an uncommon occurrence, and in England there was the not too distant memory of the Spanish court under Philip II during Mary I's reign in the 1550s.¹¹⁷ In 1601 Elizabeth ordered the merchant Casper Van Zeuden to "transport all Negars and blackamoors" out of England, on Evil May Day in 1517 there were riots in London against foreigners and in 1575 Flemish refugees were kicked out of England.¹¹⁸ Public acts against foreigners provides insight into how the English viewed outsiders, and the fierce protectiveness they had of the island realm, making James's union project immensely difficult from the outset as he battled these prejudices.

James's British vision meant the combination of two groups of aristocrats who were not of the same culture, nor did their hierarchies operate in the same fashion. The notion received support from neither English nor James's Scottish subjects. While there was a retinue of Scottish noblemen who accompanied James in his journey South, the English reaction to this proved so strong in 1611 James attempted to curb this tide of Scots, despite the lack of influx of Scots into England.¹¹⁹ The Scots who arrived England were expected to assimilate to English traditions and embrace English culture. Despite this pressure, it seems with a few exceptions there was not a noticeable attempt by Scots to become more like Englishmen, at least not now. This did not assist in James's union project, as his wish to fully bring the two countries together would have necessitated a shared culture and aristocracy, in part explaining James's push for marriage between aristocratic families across the border as this could lead to a shared culture and mutual respect.¹²⁰ He further argued since he held the crown of both kingdoms, the union already

¹¹⁷ Philip II was a Spanish king who married the Catholic Mary I, Elizabeth I's half-sister. Even though Mary's reign was brief, the member of her husband's Spanish court proved to have a long lifespan.

¹¹⁸ Jesus Lopez-Paleaz Casellas, "Race" and the Construction of English National Identity: Spaniards and North Africans in English Seventeenth-Century Drama', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 106, No. 1 (Winter 2009), 32.

¹¹⁹ Keith M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-28', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Sept., 1993), 544-6.

¹²⁰ Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court', 569-70.

happened, meaning the joining of the two kingdoms had its basis in James's absolute prerogative and person. The implicit implication here was Parliament and the common law were not necessary for the union, heightening common law lawyers fear regarding James's impact upon English law.¹²¹

The discussion surrounding union debates proved worrying to James, so much so that he reproached the Commons for their "suspiciousness and turbulence", in a speech delivered at the rising of Parliament in 1604.¹²² The Commons responded, expressing their regret for the delay of union, but that they would not grant James the title of the King of Great Britain until the union issue was settled. The Report of the Commissioners by MP's contained four proposals, each of which was in a draft bill.¹²³ These addressed four topics: getting rid of hostile laws, abolishing separate legal status on the border, equal access in commerce, and mutual naturalization. There were worries about Scots encroaching, one complainant even going so far as to say, "Pharaos Lean Kyne will feed upon our fat pastures, Whereas wee (on the Contrary parte) shall think it hard and indeed needless to send ours to the cold mores", referring to the supposedly desolate nature of the Scottish landscape.¹²⁴ If the Scots were naturalized as English citizens, they would reap the benefits of not just citizenship, but of the rich English countryside, as they were not allowed to purchase land in England but as citizens they would seize the opportunity to settle and populate the countryside. In his attempt to pass an Act of Parliament to force the Union question, James found himself in a difficult position as he exercised his sovereignty during his succession, and refused to acknowledge Parliament's role in this process. On April 24th, 1604, Bacon's

¹²¹ Glen Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought, 1603-1642* (London, 1992), 102, 127.

¹²² The King's speech at the rising of Parliament, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1603-1610*, (May 2^d 1604).

¹²³ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, 1-2.

¹²⁴ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 312.

committee on the Union listed their objections to the Union. While there were English pro-unionists who frequently thought in terms of conquest, there was not enough support for this project. Scots supporters of the Union project thought in a more federal manner, looking to Spain and Dutch as models.¹²⁵

In the third session of Parliament in 1606-7, James again brought up the Union project, which gained little traction since its original conception in 1604. Nicholas Fuller, an English lawyer, in an address to the Commons described the Scots as “more like peddlers than merchants”, in a reference to Scots businessmen who did not use companies and often undercut English trade.¹²⁶ The issue of trade proved contentious, as this directly impacted English commerce and the economic livelihood of merchants. The proposed Instrument of Union called for hostile borders laws be abolished and to make it, “unlawful for Scots to transport foreign countries such goods and commodities as Englishmen were forbidden to transport [...] Provided that such goods as were lawful to be transported by Englishmen could be transported by Scots and vice versa.”¹²⁷ Later in 1607 James penned a letter to Salisbury saying:

Now that...this session of the Commissioners hath had so happy a success, to the end that the Commissioners of England and by them the whole people of England may discern the true difference between a crafty tyrant and a just King, I will now...open my mind freely therein than ever I would have done before it had been agreed upon...I protest...never Scottishman did either directly or indirectly make suit to me for any such preferment as it reserved in your Act, and whether they ever had or not, God is my judge.¹²⁸

James viewed this Commission as a success, and the process showed those in England he was a just king and not a tyrant, and he did not believe in showing preferential treatment to the Scots.

¹²⁵ Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence, *The Accession of James I*, 6-7.

¹²⁶ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 211.

¹²⁷ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 211-212.

¹²⁸ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 214.

He argued he would not show favoritism to the Scots, as he had a newfound love of his new subjects and wanted them to thrive and succeed under his rule.

Reception of the Scots in England

One of the sore points in James's perceived favoritism of his Scots companions over his English ones was the politics surrounding the Bedchambers and appointments James made upon his arrival in 1603. James's favorite when he came to England was his Lord Treasurer, Sir George Home, who he later made Earl of Dunbar.¹²⁹ While James made sure his Bedchamber was open to English and Scottish nobles, when he was in York during his procession to London in 1603, he made sure the number of Scots he promoted to the Bedchamber equaled to that of the English. This act, while seeming innocuous, was viewed as favoritism.¹³⁰

During the establishment of the new Privy Council, James included five of his Scottish companions and Sir George Home was given the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Thomas Bruce of Kinloss, a Scottish nobleman, became the Master of the Rolls in Chancery. The new Privy Chamber was established in May 1603 and was split equally between twenty-four English and twenty-four Scottish Gentleman. The Privy Chamber was made anew upon Elizabeth's passing as her inner household was women only, and given James was a male he necessarily established a new Bedchamber and household. While there was equal division here and in the outer court, as James wished to truly unite the two countries, his Bedchamber at its inception was wholly Scottish. Other English courtiers saw this as James preferring his homeland companions over his new English nobles. Some of the patronage available by the proximity to James as a member of his Bedchamber created a level of distrust, harming the attempted

¹²⁹ Neil Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-1625', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 39 (1989), 108.

¹³⁰ Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I', 108.

union.¹³¹ Sir John Holles, an English gentleman, during the union discussions cited a grievance in the House based on actions in the court: the Scottish takeover of the Bedchamber. He proposed the “Bedchamber may be shared as well to those of our nation as to them...and that the same chamber may have the same brotherly partition which all the other inferior forms of the court, the Presence and Privy Chamber have.”¹³² Despite the tension this created, James refused to give way on the Bedchamber issue.

While the issue of trade was resolved in later debates, the issue of naturalization remained an ongoing thorn in James’s side. Bacon argued naturalization “should precede the union of the laws since naturalization took away separation; eventually the union would remove the distinction.”¹³³ Sandy’s argued naturalization needed to be mutual, as the Scots would be naturalized under English law and the English naturalized under Scottish law otherwise there would be a disparity between the two. Sir John Bennet, a member of the House of Commons, argued “when two bodies of law came together in a person, the custom of each body remained distinct.”¹³⁴ The union project and the display of xenophobia during these proceedings provides insight into how the English conceived of themselves and the Scots. While views on the Scots were more favorable compared to English views of the Irish, they were still an ‘other’ who the English defined themselves against. Thus, when it was proposed the two would be united under a common law and religion this produced a strong backlash. The potential alteration to common law, religious policy, and trade laws was unwelcome, and the presence of a strong male ruler proved at times rather contentious.

¹³¹ Cuddy, ‘Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I’, 115-116.

¹³² Cuddy, ‘Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I’, 118.

¹³³ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 223.

¹³⁴ Notestein, *The House of Commons 1604-1610*, 227.

Conclusion

When we arrive at the accession of James we find a monarch facing a serious problem: how to command the loyalty of a people who were developing an identity which rejected all things not wholly English. This was also a time when the role of the monarch was changing and Parliament increasingly pushed for its right to be heard, as will be explored further in chapters three and four. The advent of print circulated the words and likeness of the monarch, meaning their actions and images were open to public debate and discussion, assisting in the gradual demystification of monarchy. Plays too were typically laden with political meaning, and addressed topical religious, social and political events and the public nature of these performances meant they were open to consumption by the public. James attempted to include himself in this past narrative of Tudor triumphalism, continuously addressing his Tudor lineage and his right to rule. His representational strategies in the opening years of his reign were important as this set the tone for his tenure as King of England. The failure to achieve union is indicative of English patriotism and identity, as there was a fierce attachment and pride in not only the name of England itself, but to cultural and religious traditions. The fear of including an ‘other’, the Scots, into the fabric of English life was viewed as a threat to English identity.

The change from a female, and therefore a presumably ‘controllable’ body to a strong male ruler was a noticeable difference upon James’s accession to the English throne as James employed patriarchal language in a manner not seen in Elizabeth’s reign. Regarding English identity, there was a necessary shift as the English acquainted themselves with a foreign ruler, but as will be shown in the next few chapters, James was careful to utilize tropes already familiar to the populace. Upon his arrival, James attempted to prove his right to succession, arguing he was Elizabeth’s heir as a Protestant champion, unifying Scotland and England and ensuring his

new subjects understood his conceptualization of his power and prerogative. James combated the xenophobic tendencies of the English and prove himself worthy of the throne. He called upon imagery Elizabeth herself deployed, meaning these were easily recognizable. Perhaps the most dramatic event in James's reign and one which embedded itself firmly into English memory and popular consciousness was the infamous 1605 Gunpowder Plot. That the Gunpowder Plot was in the opening years of James's reign is critical, as this provided him with a moment to evoke when he felt his power threatened, reminding his subjects of the dangers he faced alongside Parliament, who were a representation of the people. Remembrance of 1605 became an important part of English patriotism, as well as identity as it touched upon one of the most critical aspects of what it meant to be English: Protestantism.

Chapter 2. Providence and the Gunpowder Plot

Remember, Remember, the fifth of November,
The Gunpowder Treason and Plot.
I see no reason why Gunpowder Treason
Should ever be forgot.¹

--John Milton
In Quintum Novembris

The Gunpowder Plot is one of the defining moments in early seventeenth century England, due to its violent nature and catastrophic effects it could have wrought had it been successful. The Plot was orchestrated by Robert Catesby: he and his fellow conspirators planned to ignite gunpowder in the vaults underneath Parliament, killing not only the Parliamentary representatives present, but the king, the queen, and their heirs, effectively decimating the English state. The thwarting of the Plot proved to James his providential place in England and his role in God's divine plan. The Gunpowder Plot received a swift outpouring of public commemoration, seen in sermons, broadsheets, almanacs and histories, weaving the Plot and its discovery into English popular consciousness and memory. Decades later in 1695, *Poor Robin's* almanac noted, "What ere's forgot, the memory o' the Powder Plot will hardly die."² Robert Tynley, a preacher, described November 5th as the 'birth-day of our Nation', as the avoidance of such a cataclysmic event assisted the formation of English identity.

1605 for a time brought James into the fabric of what it meant to be English, but this proved to be a short-lived victory. This chapter does not focus on details regarding the discovery and nature of the Plot itself as this has been thoroughly covered by other historians, but instead

¹ John R. Gills, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton University Press, 1994), 66.

² 'Poor Robin', *An Almanac After the Old and New Fashion* (London, 1695); David Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Oxford, 1992).

examines James's sense of his own providence, divine intervention, and role the Gunpowder Plot played in popular media and English identity. Through the lens of providence James viewed England as a new Israel and he a Constantine and Solomon, sent by God to serve His people. James's providential outlook was heightened following the discovery of the Plot. What is perhaps less discernible when initially exploring the Plot, is while it provided James a valuable propaganda tool, there was a vein of anti-Scottishness behind the Plotters motives. Quickly 1605 became not only a rallying cry for English patriotism, but was used to criticize the state. James's supposed leniency towards Catholics and his foreign policy decisions were viewed through the lens of the Plot. As the Gunpowder Plot happened a mere two years after James's accession, the event was recalled and recollected throughout his time as king. Commemoration of the Plot fit within preexisting yearly celebrations denoted by the Protestant calendar, playing an important role in English patriotism.

The English Protestant Calendar

The English Protestant calendar highlighted major celebrations as they occurred throughout the year, with The Book of Common Prayer providing guidelines for the proper order of these commemorations.³ These new calendars replaced Catholic ones and provided a new cycle for Protestants to follow, although there were similarities between this calendar and the pre-Reformations calendar. The calendar was a method of manipulating and shaping English history, as all celebrated in these yearly commemorations.⁴

One of the first events included in this calendar was celebration of Elizabeth's accession day on November 17th. John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563) described Elizabeth's

³ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*, xii.

⁴ David Cressy, Chapter 'National Memory in Early Modern England' in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gills (Princeton University Press, 1994), 61-2.

accession as, “What bitter blasts, what smarting storms have been felt in England during the space of certain years, till at last God’s pitiful grace sent us your majesty to quench firebrands, to assuage rage, to relieve innocents.”⁵ The relief of the innocents refers here to the English Reformations, and specifically to Elizabeth ‘rescuing’ England from the reign of her predecessor, the Catholic Mary Tudor. The triumph at her succession was further memorialized by Isaac Colfe:

The cheerfulness of our countenances, the decency of our garments, the clapping of our hands, our melody on instruments of music, the making of bonfires, the ringing of bells, the sounding of trumpets, the display of banners, the shooting of guns [on the] special day ordained of the Lord...for the happiness of England.⁶

The loud and raucous public celebration for Accession Day was an event all joined in, as it was part of both elite and popular culture. This ‘special day’ celebrated the providential place of England in God’s design, and was something to be loudly commemorated. Thomas Holland, a theologian at Oxford, saw November 17th, Elizabeth’s accession day, as, “a day registered in all our chronicles to all happy remembrance...a day wherein our nation received a new light after a fearful and bloody eclipse.”⁷ The ‘fearful and bloody eclipse’ references the reign of Mary I, and the terror she brought as she attempted to bring England back into the fold of Catholicism.

After the defeat of the 1588 Armada the notion of England as God’s elect gained more steam, seen through works such as *A Psalm and Collect of Thanksgiving, not Unmeet for this Present Time* (1588) and *Meditations Concerning Prayers to Almighty God* (1589). There was a link between the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot, as they were both examples of the unending fight between light (Protestantism) and evil (Catholicism), and threats England faced from outside forces. The perceived connection between these events provided further evidence to

⁵ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 53.

⁶ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 68.

⁷ Cressy, ‘National Memory in Early Modern England’, 62.

England's status as a blessed nation, and the importance of halting any who would try to harm England. Tying together the Gunpowder Plot and Armada served James's propaganda efforts, as he connected himself to previous dangers England faced. The threat from Rome became a prevalent theme in printed materials regarding the Plot. Francis Herring, a physician, in his history *Popish Pietie* (1610), recalled the Gunpowder Plot:

The Powder-Treason, that monstrous birth of the Romish harlot, cannot be forgotten without great impiety and injury to ourselves... We shall be guilty of horrible ingratitude, the foulest of all vices, if we do not embrace all means of perpetuating the memory of so great, so gracious, and wonderful a preservation.⁸

The inclusion of the Gunpowder deliverance in Protestant calendars contributed not only to the myth and memory of the Plot, but the continual remembrance of England's deliverance on multiple occasions. The need to remember the danger England faced from insurgents within its own borders was an important element in the construction of Protestant history, as it continuously reminded the English of their unique place in history and tied their loyalty to England rather than outside forces, assisting in the growth of patriotism. The patriotism displayed in the calendar and accompanying celebrations is important to understand the role memory and commemoration in English identity.

These annual celebrations were accompanied by bonfires, ringing of bells, and other acts of joyful exuberance. Thomas Holland characterized celebrations accompanying Elizabeth's accession day as filled with "triumphs undertaken and performed at court that day, bonfires, ringing of bells, discharging of ordinance at the Tower...and other signs of joy then usually and willingly exhibited by the people of our land."⁹ These new celebrations replaced old Catholic

⁸ Francis Herring, *Popish Pietie, or the First Part of the Historie of that Horrible and Barbarous Conspiracie, Called the Powder-Treason* (London, 1610), sigs. A3v-A4.

⁹ David Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Jan., 1990), pp. 38.

ones, as Protestantism was intertwined with English culture and identity. The massive participation in these events is important as it was a common celebration, weaving together disparate groups in honoring the country. The Gunpowder Plot celebrations fit easily within the pre-orchestrated schema of celebration, and these annual Protestant celebrations continued during the reign of James, as he added new days including August 5th, for his deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy in 1600. While the Gowrie Conspiracy was prior to James ascending the English throne, he included it as part of these yearly commemorations in the Protestant calendar, another moment of his deliverance from danger. Including yearly commemorative prayers in The Book of Common Prayer served as a reminder to the English to continuously thank God for sparing them from this devilish plot and protecting his chosen people. By including prayers about the Gunpowder Plot, James wove himself into a providential vision of English history, much in the same manner God spared the English in 1588 under Elizabeth, so he spared them again in 1605 with James. Commemorations of 1605 remained relevant for centuries onward, becoming an important element in the fabric of English identity and culture. Gunpowder Day is still celebrated today in England, and although there would have been no way to know in 1605 how culturally relevant this plot would become. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance November 5th held for James, as he highlighted his Englishness through remembrance of this event, a new tool to prove his worthiness of the English throne.

Gowrie Conspiracy

The Gowrie Conspiracy was on Tuesday, August 5th, 1600, when James supposedly fell for a ruse set by “John Ruthven, the Earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander.”¹⁰ James was tricked away by Ruthven and his fellow conspirators from his hunting companions, cornered,

¹⁰ W.F. Arbuckle, ‘The ‘Gowrie Conspiracy’: Part I, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 121, Part I (Apr., 1957), 2-4.

and his life threatened. The king was spared only because of the quick action of his friends, who saved him from imminent danger. On November 1st, the Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh and by November 4th treason papers were drawn up against “William Ruthven, the Earl of Gowrie, his brother Alexander and Harry Ruthven of Freeland, Hew Moncrieff, Patrick Eviot and Andrew Henderson.”¹¹ Patrick Galloway, a Scottish minister, argued Gowrie was secretly a Papist, “This is the very truth of the fact, which I have received, not by the King’s Majesties, but by him who could have been the doer of the turn. He is living yet, he is not slain; a man will enough known to this town”.¹² The first published essay articulating the king’s perception of this event written by William Lowndes, an English nobleman, entitled *Gowrie’s Conspiracy. A Discourse of the unnatural and vile conspiracy, attempted against the King’s Majesties Person, at Sanct-Johnstoun, upon Tuesday the Fifth of August*. The work was quickly sent to Robert Cecil in August 1600.¹³ By this point Cecil and James were in frequent contact, and in sending the work to Cecil, it is likely James was showing Cecil that his deliverance from this wickedness proved he was worthy of the English throne, as he had been shown God’s special favor.

On August 5th, 1600, celebrating James’s sparing from the Gowrie Plot, the *Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for King James*, was created as a special service delivered in remembrance of the Conspiracy, and upon James’s coming to England it was included in The Book of Common Prayer.¹⁴ The quick printing of an account of the Gowrie Conspiracy and its circulation amongst James’s new subjects is important, as it gives us a window into what James categorized as a priority. He wanted his subjects to see him as specially chosen by God, as God

¹¹ Arbuckle, ‘The ‘Gowrie Conspiracy’: Part I, 22.

¹² Arbuckle, ‘The ‘Gowrie Conspiracy’: Part I, 14.

¹³ Arbuckle, ‘The ‘Gowrie Conspiracy’: Part I, 18.

¹⁴ F.C. Eeles, ‘The English Thanksgiving Service for King James’ Delivery from the Gowrie Conspiracy’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 32 (Jun., 1911), pp. 367.

saved him on multiple occasions from the brink of disaster. A method he used to ensure all parishes in England heard this tale was a prayer of remembrance, when subjects gave thanks for his deliverance. One of these prayers, *A form of Prayer with Thanksgiving, to be used by all the King's Majesties loving Subjects every year the fifth of August* (1603), thanks God for having:

Saved and defended they servant *James* our most gracious *King*, and especially as this day did make frustrate their bloody and most barbarous Treason, who being his natural Subjects, most unnaturally violating thy Divine ordinance, did secretly seek to shed his blood [...] Hear vs now we pray thee, (O most merciful Father) and continue forth thy loving kindness towards thy servant our Sovereign Lord, towards our most virtuous Queen, and all their Princely children, and evermore to thy glory and our comfort keep them in health with long life and prosperity, whose reset and only refuge is in thee, O God of their salutation.¹⁵

Thankfulness is given to God in this prayer for saving England's sovereign king, and subjects prayed for the continuous protection of James after he arrived in England. The prayer follows much of the same format typically seen in thanksgivings given to the monarch, as the conspirators are portrayed as 'unnatural' for attempting to bring harm to the sovereign. Here their crime is described as treason, a word later deemed unsuitable for the Gunpowder Plot, as it was perceived as more than treason. The Conspiracy was used by James as propaganda, as he quickly ensured printing of works refreshing the memory of his new subjects of previous dangers he faced. Furthermore, this was an attempt by James to prove his 'Englishness' and worthiness of being King of England, as he included celebrations for deliverance of the Gowrie Conspiracy in the Protestant calendar.

James's recollection of the Gowrie Conspiracy, *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving* (1603), was used on August 5th, giving thanks for his escape and the thwarting of Gowrie and his

¹⁵ Eeles, 'The English Thanksgiving Service for King James', 372.

heinous companions.¹⁶ The *Form of Prayer* was delivered in parishes on the anniversary of the Conspiracy, meaning all those in England heard yearly recitations of dangers James faced prior to stepping on English soil. A *Form of Prayer* featured crowned royal arms on the title page, with a prayer reading, “The king put his trust in the lord” and God provided protection for “godly kings and governors.”¹⁷ This thanksgiving was followed by happy remembrance of James’s arrival to England, as he represented the “joyful delivery from great dread and fear, to the happy continuance of our peace and welfare, and to the blessed maintenance of thy gospel and true religion amongst us.”¹⁸ ‘Joyful delivery’ refers the succession crisis late in Elizabeth’s reign, as fear of potential chaos and potential Catholic interference ran wild.

The Plotters commitment to the cause of international Catholicism only heightened the apocalyptic sentiment surrounding 1605. The state quickly pieced together their version of what happened to control the narrative of the Gunpowder Plot and ensure it did not spin out of control and lead to mass panic or other acts of civil disruption. Prior to the Gunpowder Plot, James faced danger upon his entry to England with the advent of the ‘Main Plot’, or ‘Bye Plot’.

Main Plot or Bye Plot

In 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffin Markham, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham and other conspirators were arrested for their role in the Main Plot or Bye Plot.¹⁹ The Main Plot attempted to put Arabella Stuart, a potential successor to Elizabeth I, on the throne in place of James. There was nervousness by some English nobles about James’s style of rule, given the recent circulation

¹⁶ *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving, to be Used by All the Kings Majesties Loving Subjects Every Year the Fifth of August Being the Day of his Highness Happy Deliverance from the Traitorous and Bloody Attempt of the Earl of Gowry and his Brother, with Their Adherents*. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 36.

¹⁷ *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving*. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 36.

¹⁸ *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving*. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 36.

¹⁹ Craig A. Bernthal, ‘Staging Justice: James I and the Trial Scenes of Measure for Measure’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1992), 247-8.

of *Basilicon Doron* in England. Those involved in the Bye Plot planned to kidnap the king and make him enforce religious toleration for Catholics, preferably after having a reasonable discourse with him where he would realize the value of their argument. The plan to kidnap James and sway him to Catholicism through ‘reasonable discourse’ was of course far-fetched, and it is highly unlikely this plan would have worked. Raleigh was the most famous of the conspirators charged, and he was tried on November 17th, 1603. At the time he was charged he was a deeply unpopular figure and people turned out en mass to watch the proceedings.²⁰ When Raleigh’s trial finally came the tide turned, with Raleigh gaining more public sympathy, leaving James in a difficult position as popular support was now against him.

The Bye Plot was a lesson for James in how a direct threat against him could suddenly turn into a situation where sympathy was felt for those who orchestrated harm against him. The sudden turn of public opinion was a negative experience for James, as he was so warmly greeted by his new subjects only a few months earlier. He initially held their support in pursuing charges against the conspirators and to have his subjects side with the Plotters was undoubtedly disconcerting. Only three were put to death for the Plot were two Catholic priests and a radical Protestant, as the populace was against unnecessary bloodshed.²¹ The tension surrounding James’s accession certainly motivated the Plot, but were not the sole cause. At first glance there does not seem to be a direct connection between the events of the Bye or Main Plot and the Gunpowder Plot, but both were born out of frustration with the government and state, and a fear of what the future held.

²⁰ Bernthal, ‘Staging Justice’, 248-9.

²¹ Mark Nicholls, ‘Treason’s Reward: The Punishment of Conspirators in the Bye Plot of 1603’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 824-40.

One of the motivators in the Bye and Gunpowder Plot was revenge, in the Bye Plot it was a reaction to the lack of quick toleration for Catholics, in the Gunpowder Plot hatred for the government and disenchanted Plotters who felt wronged. In February 1604 James cast Catholic priests out of England, arguing they fed “a vain confidence of some Innovation in matters of Religion to be done by Us, which We never intended, nor gave any man cause to expect”, tarnishing some of the hopes of English Catholics.²² In the wake of the Bye and Main Plot his caution was politically savvy, but he nonetheless presented a threat to Catholic hopes for Catholic restoration as he was an adult Protestant with healthy heirs raised as Protestants, meaning the likely continuation of a Protestant dynasty. Those who wished for Catholicism under Elizabeth continued to do so under James and saw his accession as “new and more grievous vexations...yet more and more heavy whips wherewith to scourge us.”²³ The fear of retributive justice by James was perhaps not unwarranted, as English subjects did not yet know their new king, even though he initially continued with many of the same laws as Elizabeth regarding Catholics. It was James’s heirs who perhaps posed the largest threat as they would have undoubtedly continued the legacy of Catholicism in England, explaining why the Plotters found it necessary to attempt to kill James, Queen Anne, and his heirs. While James and his government showed leniency with the Bye and Plot conspirators, they had no such mercy with the Gunpowder Plotters. The threat the Gunpowder Plot posed meant it was treated with gravity by James and his government. The Plot was quickly publicly commented on, much in the same way James produced his own narrative of the Gowrie Conspiracy, following the same tradition

²² Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 71.

²³ John Morris, ed., *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard’s narrative of the Gunpowder Plot...with his life* (London, 1872), 25, Quoted in Mark Nicholls, ‘Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Dec., 2007), 801.

Elizabeth's state used during Essex's rebellion of 1601 when her government quickly produced propaganda to shape public perception of the rebellion.

Trial of the Gunpowder Plotters

When the trial of the Plotters began on January 27th, 1606 there was less focus on proving the crimes committed, and instead on the public narrative of events. Robert Cecil indicated in notes to the attorney general, "First you must be sure to make it appear to the world that there was an employment of some persons to Spain for a practice of invasion as the queen's breath was out of her body", tying those indicted in the Gunpowder Plot to a larger international conspiracy backed by Catholic powers.²⁴ In a letter dated June 2nd, 1603 from Pope Clement VIII to Philip III King of Spain, he argued James would pursue policies similar to Elizabeth, ultimately resulting in unnecessary deaths of Catholics in England:

As we see it, there are two paths, that of force and that of negotiation, and this latter in two ways. The way of force has been tried for many years resulting in the death and slaughter of the poor catholics and to no advantage than that of gaining new martyrs...It bore little fruit with that wicked woman; and we cannot hope to do better with this man, whether because he has now the combined forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, or else because of the evil state of Christendom at the present time; for there is a Turkish war now on, and a war in Flanders. Most evident danger looms with the very idea of war.²⁵

Cecil argued James gave no hope for recusants, and those upset at his policies should not have been surprised, "His Majesty, as well before his coming to this crown...and always since was so

²⁴ Notes in Salisbury's hand for Sir Edward Coke on the management of the trials; nd., PRO, SP 14/19/222. Quoted in Francis Edwards, *The Enigma of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605: The Third Solution*, (Four Courts Press, Dublin, Ireland, 2008), 347.

²⁵ Edwards, *The Enigma of the Gunpowder Plot*, 352.

far from making of promise, or giving hope of toleration, that he ever professed he should not endure the motion thereof from any.”²⁶ Despite tensions, outright war with Spain was avoided, but there were still suspicions of their involvement, and the English government continued Catholic treason and the government continued its attempts to control the public narrative.

Early Accounts of the Gunpowder Plot

The King's Book or His Majesties Speech in his last session of Parliament concerning the Gunpowder Plot...together with the Discourse of the manner of the discovery of this late intended treason was one of the first publications which appeared after the Gunpowder Plot.²⁷ Quickly after the discovery letters went out to close important ports, and certain towns were alerted to prepare for a potential attack from insurgents. Other plotters took supplies from Warwick, as officials in Worcestershire were warned a “great assembly of notorious papists who have in rebellious sort assembled themselves to the number of a hundred horse”, and could potentially lay siege to their town.²⁸ The quick alerting of those outside the confines of the capital highlights the gravity of the threat posed. Quickly a publication described the nature of the Plot, its discovery, and its ultimate thwarting. The swift production of such a work highlights the need to control the public narrative of events.

The King's Book contains James's speech after uncovering the Plot as he discusses detection of the Plot, persons involved, and confessions of the accused. In including his own words James engages in the representational strategy of print. He portrays himself as vigilant in his justice, yet willing to grant a fair trial, and his fear for the destruction of his beloved members

²⁶ Edwards, *The Enigma of the Gunpowder Plot*, 358.

²⁷ Mark Nicholls, ‘Discovering the Gunpowder Plot: The King's Book and the Dissemination of News’, *Recusant History*, Vol. 28, Issue: 3, 2007, 398.

²⁸ Nicholls, ‘Discovering the Gunpowder Plot’, 399.

of state as they represented his new subjects who he admired and adored, as they reciprocated those same feelings for him.

In the cruelty of the plot itself, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearful cruelty of their device, which was not only for the destruction of my person, nor of my wife and posterity only, but of the whole body of the state in general; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young nor of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman: The nobility, the whole reverend clergy, bishops, and most part of the good preachers, the most part of the knights and gentry; yea, and, if that any in this society were favorers of their profession, they should all have gone one way: The whole judges of the land, with the most of the lawyers and the whole clerks.²⁹

James articulates how widespread the destruction of the Gunpowder Plot would have been, and it was not merely himself in danger, but those who loyally served the English populace. James goes on to describe the plotters as Englishmen who betrayed their king and country, and should they have succeeded “the immortal monuments of our ancient princes and nobility [...] should now have been all consumed together; and so not only we, but the memory of us and ours, should have been thus extinguished in an instant.”³⁰ James use of ‘we’, ‘us’, and ‘ours’ articulates his Englishness, as he refers to the mutual memory and monuments he shared with his English subjects, weaving himself into English history and identity. He previously attempted to prove his Englishness during his coronation processions, continuously articulating his heritage and right to the throne through his Tudor bloodline, but it was here when he was threatened alongside Parliament that he became a more English king. 1605 was a triumphant moment for

²⁹ *His Majesty's Speech in this last session of Parliament concerning the Gunpowder-Plot; as near as his very Words, as could be gathered at that Instant*, printed in *The Harleian Miscellany or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in manuscripts as in print, found in the late Earl of Oxfords Library, interspersed with historical, political and critical* (Grace-Church Street: London, 1809), 7.

³⁰ *His Majesty's Speech in this last session of Parliament concerning the Gunpowder-Plot; as near as his very Words, as could be gathered at that Instant*, 16.

James regarding his representational performance, as he became an important part of English history.

One of the responses to the Plot was enforcement of yearly commemorations via the statute *An Act of Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God Every Year for the Fifth Day of November...to the End this Unfeigned Thankfulness May Never be Forgotten, but be had in Perpetual Remembrance*.³¹ Many publications memorializing 1605 concentrated on England's deliverance, one in particular describing the Gunpowder Plot as, "The Powder-Treason, the monstrous birth of the Romish harlot, cannot be forgotten without great impiety and injury to ourselves...We shall be guilty of horrible ingratitude, the foulest of all vices, if we do not embrace all means of perpetuating the memory of so great, so gracious, and wonderful a preservation."³² The momentous nature of 1605 is reflected in a speech delivered by essayist Samuel Garey, later making its way to print as *Great Brittain's little calendar*, where he argued the Plot could not be "buried in oblivion" but should be "a holy feast unto the Lord throughout the generations", "How unworthy shall we be of future favors, if so unthankful for past blessings?". He continued, stipulating it was vital for the English "to imprint an eternal memento in the calendar of our hearts forever, of the marvelous mercy of God in keeping us from that intended destruction."³³ In imprinting this memory permanently into the hearts of the English people, James attempted to make himself one with his new subjects. Early poetry on the Plot acknowledged the momentousness of the occasion, and furthermore served to disseminate information to a populace who was hungry for news, drama and intrigue.

³¹ 3 Jac. 1 c. 1 (1606); Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered'.

³² Francis Herring, *Popish Pieties, or the First Part of the History of that Horrible and Barbarous Conspiracy, Called the Powder-Treason* (London, 1610), sigs. A3v-A4.

³³ Samuel Garey, *Amphitheatrum Scelerum: or the Transcendent of Treason* (London, 1618), 184-5.

Early poetry on the Plot included Edward Hawes work, *Traitorous Percyes and Catesbyes Prosopopoeia* (1606), a tale of two men seduced by the pope to commit an unforgiveable crime. Thomas Percy, one of the Gunpowder Plotters, is depicted as an ‘atheist’ who wished “to be a governor.”³⁴ As the poetical tradition continued, one of the Plotters Guy Fawkes, became increasingly dehumanized and portrayed as a monster. The work *A Brief Sum of the Treason intended against the King and State, when they should have been assembled in Parliament* (1605) connected the Gunpowder Plot to the Babington Conspiracy, as the Protestant king and his heirs would be murdered in hopes of replacing them with a Catholic monarch.³⁵

Prince of darkness, and hells blackness,/was their leader./Piercy Papist, makes
Atheist, banners spreader:/Juggling *Jesuits*, with their false sleights,/man a
 one./Of the upper house and Romes, of/Parliament./Some hide Vault-room, and
 brought in some,/Coals and Wood:/To lay over, all the Powder,/as it
 stood./Traynes were spread, and Pipes of lead,/laid with march.³⁶

The Babington Conspiracy was a Catholic plot during Elizabeth’s reign, so here we see another connection between the reign of Elizabeth and James as they were both threatened by Catholics. Papists and Jesuits posed a continuous threat to the kingdom, both in a metaphorical and literal sense as Jesuits were sent to England on conversion missions. The threat Jesuits posed was turning subjects away from true religion and towards Catholicism, answering to a foreign master, the pope, who commanded his loyal followers to bring harm and ruin to Protestant England. The ‘prince of darkness’ referred to both the devil himself, and Rome, as they were perceived by Protestants as a conduit for evil forces. The lucky avoidance of such evil was something to be celebrated by the populace, as they too were delivered.

³⁴ Richard F. Hardin, ‘The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: Myth in the Making’, *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter, 1992), 63-4.

³⁵ In the Babington Conspiracy, plotters planned to replace Protestant Elizabeth with her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, her cousin and James’s mother.

³⁶ *A Brief Sum of the Treason intended against the King and State, when they should have been assembled in Parliament*. November 5 1605 (London, 1606), A2-6.

Bishop George Carleton's work, *Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy* recollected the Gunpowder Plot as such:

Their hellish device was at one blow to root out religion, to destroy the state, the father of our country, the mother of our country, the olive branches the hopeful succession of our king, the reverend clergy, the honorable nobility, the faithful councilors, the grave judges, the greatest part of our knights and gentry, the choicest burgesses, the officers of the crown, council, signet, seals and other seats of judgement, the learned lawyers with an infinite number of common people, the hall of justice, the houses of parliament, the church used for the coronation of our kings, the monuments of our former princes, all records of parliament and of every particular man's right, with great number of charters, and other things of this nature, all these things had the devil by his agents devised at one secret blow to destroy.³⁷

The 'olive branches' here are James's policies towards Catholics and recusants, as he believed he did not persecute Catholics, but rather set down reasonable expectations. He expected conformity to The Oath of Allegiance but was not willing to aggressively attack Catholics in England. The memory of Mary I's persecution of Protestants and the threats she posed to the godly during her reign were not easily forgotten. Given James's conciliatory attitude towards Catholics, the Plotters are portrayed here as ungrateful for the peace he brought the realm. The significance of the House of Parliament and seat of governance is seen in Carleton's emphasis on the historical role the building itself played as the place of coronation, the holder of past charters and records, and a space for artifacts from previous rulers. While not directly stated, one of the other olive branches the king extended was his solving of the succession crisis as he had a fertile queen and healthy heirs. The amount of print materials on the Plot speaks to the fascination it sparked, as well as the seriousness of the threat posed.

³⁷ George Carleton, *A Thankful Remembrance of Gods Mercy, In an Historical Collection of the great and merciful Deliverances of the Church and State of England* (London, 1624), p. 217.

A True and Perfect Relation of the proceedings at the several Arraignments of the late most barbarous Traitors, details the trial of Henry Garnet, a Jesuit who was aware of the plot but not involved, beginning with an address to the reader on the necessity of such a publication:

To publish anything of the late most barbarous and damnable Treason, and Conspiracies, and Blowing up the House of Parliament with Gunpowder, may at the first appearance seem both unnecessary, and unprofitable [...] Yet it is necessary, and will be very profitable to publish somewhat concerning the fame, Aswell for that there do pass from hand to hand divers uncertain, untrue and incoherent reports, and relations of such Evidence, as was publicly given upon the said several Arraignments; As also for that it is necessary for men to understand the birth & growth of the said abominable and detestable Conspiracy, and who were the principal Authors and Actors in the fame.³⁸

The Plot threatened England's future as it would have destroyed the central apparatus of the state and Henry Frederick, James's heir. Later, the pamphlet condemns Papists for the threat they posed and turbulent forces they brought to England. Propaganda asserted it was an abhorrence to threaten a state, a people and a realm so universally beloved and respected.

Deliverance in Popular Imagination

The Gunpowder Plot was so treacherous it "doeth want an apt name, as tending not only to the hurt, but to the death of the King, and not the death of King only, but of his whole Kingdome, *Non Regis sed Regni*, that is to the destruction and dissolution to the frame and Fabric of this ancient, famous and ever flourishing Monarchie."³⁹ Regicide was one of the highest crimes a subject could commit, and to compound this by murdering the heir and future hope of England and representative body of the English people made November 5th something more heinous than treason alone. The work argues this treason was connected to past crimes, "Now as this powder Treason is in the self prodigious and unnatural, so is it the Conception and

³⁸ *A True and Perfect Relation of the proceedings at the several Arraignments of THE LATE MOST barbarous Traitors*, Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, Anno 1606, A3.

³⁹ *A True and Perfect Relation of...*, D4.

Birth most monstrous, as arising out of the dead ashes of former Treasons.”⁴⁰ Arising out of the ashes of past transgressions refers not only to dangers England faced, but times when James was threatened. James becoming part of the legacy of past treasons against England is important, as this was another chance to fold himself into English history and connect with his new subjects. The Plot was ultimately foiled because, “the King was Divinely illuminated by Almighty God, the only ruler of Princes, like an Angell of God to direct and point as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made there, out of those dark words of the Letter concerning a terrible Blow.”⁴¹ The language here is like James’s in *Basilicon Doron*, as sovereigns are argued to be ‘divinely illuminated by God’, meant to direct and lead their people towards salvation.

James recalled his escape from potential devastation each year in the same fashion he celebrated his deliverance from the Gowrie Conspiracy, by hearing sermons on November 5th, and ensuring sermons were similarly delivered across the country. *A Brief Sum of the Treason intended against the King and State, when they should have been assembled in Parliament, November 5, 1605*, reminded subjects of their salvation and argued since the king and government were both imperiled by the potential attack, its success would have brought catastrophe to England.⁴² The episode had a long lifespan, seen by the 1625 work *A Song or Psalm of thanksgiving in remembrance of our deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason*, along with John Taylor’s 1630 poem recollecting the potential damage 1605 could have wrought:

New treason plotted in th’infernal den
 Hell’s mischief masterpiece began to work,
 Assisted by unnatural Englishmen,
 And Jesuits, that within this land did lurk,
 These would Saint Peter to saltpeter turn,
 And make our kingdom caper in the air,
 At one blast, prince and peers and commons burn,

⁴⁰ A True and Perfect Relation of..., D6.

⁴¹ A True and Perfect Relation of..., I4.

⁴² Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 143.

And fill the land with murder and despair.
No treason e're might be compared to this,
Such as escape the church had ne're before:
The glory God's, the victory in his,
Not unto us, to him be praise therefore.
Our church in his, her foes may understand,
That he defends her with his mighty hand.⁴³

Here we gain a sense of how truly extraordinary the event was in popular imagination, and why this became a patriotic rally crying and so important in English identity and popular consciousness. The 'unnaturalness' mentioned here denotes the act of treason itself, as loyal subjects would never imperil England in such a manner. If the state and law enforcement disappeared all those in Britain would be threatened, as lawlessness and despair filled the land. England as favorable in God's eyes complimented imagery of England as another Israel, articulated in John Vicar's poem, *Englands hallelu-jah or, Great Britaines retribution* (1630), where God's chosen people were "The English Israelites...ingranted on old Israel stock."⁴⁴ This providential mythology had origins in the 1588 Armada as England received "such mercies and favors of His, Super upon ourselves as (sure) the nations round about us have not seen".⁴⁵

The 1588 Armada and 1605 Gunpowder Plot were closely connected, as both provided proof of God's special favor to the English people, as He rescued them twice from the evil machinations of Catholics. The idea of England as a new Israel fit within James's portrayal of himself as a new Constantine. Salvation from the Plot is put at the feet of God and while human actors undoubtedly played an important role, it was truly God to whom the victory was owed. James used the Plot as fuel for his argument he was the divinely chosen king of the English, given his salvation from threats. This reinforced his words in *Basilicon Doron*, "That since Kings

⁴³ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 152.

⁴⁴ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 153.

⁴⁵ Peter E. McCullough, *Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122.

are in the word of God it self called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinities.”⁴⁶ James fit this deliverance within his pre-orchestrated representational strategies.

James’s Parliamentary Address

In a speech to Parliament James reminds those assembled all kings are naturally in danger due to their important role in society, but he particularly was grieved with multiple attempts on his life, and indeed was in danger prior to his birth:

I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places like the high Trees, or Mountains, and steepest Rocks, are most subject to the daily tempests of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other Kings have ever been subject unto them, not only ever since my birth, but even as I may justly say, before my birth, and while I was yet in my mothers belly: ye have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers then all the rest.⁴⁷

He references dangers his mother faced when she was pregnant with him, as well as other plots threatening his life, even at an early age. He was kidnapped as a child, almost killed in the womb, faced down multiple attempts on his life and here in the Gunpowder Plot he perhaps faced his greatest peril yet as it meant the destruction of not only himself, but his blood line. The innumerable dangers facing monarchs is argued by James as typical, but he was especially targeted and managed to avoid destruction.

James continued divulging his unique experience with danger, and how God’s deliverance could only mean he had a providential role to play in history:

In the former I should have been baptized in blood, and in my destruction not only the Kingdome wherein I then was, but ye also by your future interest, should have

⁴⁶ *His Majesties Speech In This last Session of Parliament, as near his very words as could be gathered at the instant*

⁴⁷ *His Majesties Speech In This last Session of Parliament*, B1.

tasted of my ruin. Yet it pleased God to deliver me, as it were from the very brink of death, from the point of the dagger, and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgement of so great a benefit. This was not a crying sin of blood, as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundering sin of Fire and Brimstone, from which God hath so miraculously delivered vs all.⁴⁸

As it pleased God to deliver James from the ‘brink of death’, God also miraculously delivered all in England. The baptism of blood and destruction would bring not only his ruin, but the kingdom and the future of both England and Scotland would be imperiled.

James acknowledged it was not just his life spared but Parliament’s and his family’s, although he gave emphasis to the personal danger he faced. James continued:

Since if pleased God to grant me two such notable Deliveries upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the Month, which was the fifth; Thereby to teach me, That as it was the fame devil that still persecuted me; So it was one and the fame GOD that still mightily delivered me.⁴⁹

James calls back to his deliverance from the Gowrie Conspiracy, as following this Conspiracy he began a ritual of hearing sermons on the plot’s anniversary, purposefully processing to chapel to maximize public appearance. The inward focus reveals James’s conceptualization of this event, and while the kingdom indeed was under fire, he saw this through the lens of his own personal history and as further evidence of his chosen place. This is not to say he ignored Parliament’s role, but rather he deployed the Plot to propagate his providential imagery, and situate himself within previous dangers levelled against England. Later in the speech he focuses on the potential destruction to the ruling body of the realm, along with the role of Catholicism in the Plot.

As James delivered this speech in Parliament, he stood in the spot where he and his government could have met their untimely end as he recognized, “Wee all cause to thank and magnify GOD for this merciful Delivery”, but had the worst happened James would have been

⁴⁸ *His Majesties Speech In This last Session of Parliament*, B2.

⁴⁹ *His Majesties Speech In This last Session of Parliament*, B6-7.

honored because “mine end should have been with the most Honorable and best company, and in that most Honorable and fittest place for a KING to be in.”⁵⁰ In sparing the English state God allowed Parliament and James to fulfill their divine mission to rule honorably and uphold Protestant laws. James also emphasized that despite the Plotters seduction via the power of the papacy, there were Catholics in England who were loyal and faithful subjects. He attempted to mitigate potential attacks on Catholics in England, laying the blame only at the feet of extremists. In 1605, James recalled the Plot in an address to Parliament, recounting it as, “an attempt by Roman Catholics to destroy both the place and the persons associated with the passage of cruel Lawes (as they say)...against their religion.”⁵¹ His emphasis on ‘so they say’, articulates his viewpoint the laws passed against Catholics in England were not so cruel or cumbersome to provoke aggressive action, but rather it was hatred and jealousy towards the country motivating these zealots. James argued all Catholics in England should not be lumped in with these treacherous individuals. In the aftermath of 1605 he took steps to curb Catholicism within England, doing so through the Oath of Allegiance.

The Oath of Allegiance

The 1606 Oath of Allegiance, making Catholics swear allegiance to James and not the pope, implied Catholics were prone to acts of civil disobedience, as they refused to comply with the ‘natural religion’ of England, and were so recently implicated in aggressive acts against the state. The Oath of Allegiance stated the pope lacked the “power or authority to depose the King...or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty” as James was the “lawful

⁵⁰ *His Majesties Speech In This last Session of Parliament*, B6.

⁵¹ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 75.

and rightful king of this Realm.”⁵² In May of 1606 two laws passed enforcing penal laws against Catholics, making recusants receive Communion at least once a year.⁵³ Pope Paul V responded to these developments on September 22nd, 1606, telling Catholics in England they were not to “come unto the churches of the Heretics, or hear their Sermons, or communicate with them in their rites”, or “bind your selves by the Oath.”⁵⁴ This led to a pamphlet war and publication of *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1606), supposedly published ‘anonymously’, but it was well known James was the author. In his work *Premonition*, James argued The Oath of Allegiance was a precaution because of the Gunpowder Plot, “plotted only by Papists, and then only led thereto by preposterous zeal, for the advancement of their Religion”, showing the truly damning nature of Catholicism.⁵⁵ Robert Cecil’s *An answer to certain scandalous papers, scattered abroad under color of a Catholic admonition*, followed James’s lead and attempted to stop rumors of a massive international conspiracy, or the call for all Catholics in England to be held responsible for the actions of a few extremists. Although James was hesitant to embark upon a massive campaign against Catholics in England, he was fearful of an international Catholic conspiracy against Protestantism.⁵⁶ William Barlow’s November 10th, 1606, sermon argued these conspirators were not truly religious, given their attempted terrorism, but were instead misguided souls.⁵⁷

In correspondence with Robert Cecil James said, “I will never allow in my conscience that the blood of any man shall be shed for diversity of opinions in religion, but I should be sorry

⁵² Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 79.

⁵³ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 77.

⁵⁴ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 80.

⁵⁵ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 91-5.

⁵⁶ This will be explored in later chapters in more detail.

⁵⁷ Nicholls, ‘Discovering the Gunpowder Plot’, 403.

that Catholics should multiply as they might be able to practice their old principles upon us.”⁵⁸

While James wished to avoid bloodshed in the name of religion, he was fearful of an increase in the number of practicing Catholics in Britain, as they could potentially overwhelm the godly and perhaps dismantle Reformed religion in England. He later supported the expulsion of Catholic priests because:

Their point in doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious Supremacy of their Head the Pope, whereby he not only claims to be Spiritual head of all Christians, but also to have an Imperial civil power over all Kings and Emperors, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his foot as please him, and dispensing and disposing of all kingdoms and Empires at his appetite...thinking it no sin, but rather a matter of salutation to do all actions of rebellion and hostility against their natural Sovereign Lord.⁵⁹

He attacked the papacy specifically, as England was under his imperial headship, meaning Rome had no business interfering with civil laws or ecclesiastical doctrine in the realm. The pope's attempts to do so were blasphemous, as he was a direct threat to Protestantism. The papacy proved to be a credible and continuous threat, adding support to the argument Catholicism had no place in the kingdom. James further warned, “The Papists of this Land to bee admonished, That they presume not so much upon my Penitie (because I would be loath to be thought a Persecutor) as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their number and strength in this Kingdome.”⁶⁰ While he shied away from persecution on the grounds of religion alone, James recognized dangers inherent in allowing potentially turbulent forces to fester unchecked. Instead he attempted to reminding the godly they were blessed indeed to have a king so dedicated to upholding true religion.

⁵⁸ Tauton and Hart, “King Lear”, King James and the Gunpowder Treason of 1605’, 701.

⁵⁹ J.P. Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I, Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 140.

⁶⁰ Sommerville, *King James VI and I*, 140-1.

James delivered an address to Parliament November 9th, 1605, drawing parallels between the Book of Revelation and deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot and Gowrie Conspiracy as, “these two great and fearful Domes-days, wherewith god threatened to destroy me and all of you this little world that have interest in me.”⁶¹ The fear of Doomsday inherently operated alongside apocalyptic spirituality. Sir Edward Coke saw this moment as one laden with apocalyptic symbolism, arguing the word treason was not enough to describe how truly horrible this event was:

This treason doth want an apt name, as tending not only to the hurt, but to the death of the King, and not the death of the King only, but of his whole kingdom...that is the destruction and dissolution of the frame and fabric of this ancient, famous and ever-flourishing monarchy; even the deletion of our whole name and nation [...] Miserable, but yet sudden had their ends been who should have died in that fiery tempest and storm of gunpowder...Lord, what a wind, what a fire, what a motion and commotion of earth and air would there have been.⁶²

Bacon gives voice to the previously mentioned problem of how to label the Gunpowder Plot, as it was something more than treason, an entirely unique threat previously unseen in sixteenth century England.⁶³ In threatening to make English governance and history obsolete, the core of English identity would be dealt a blow so immense recovery would be impossible. The wiping out of monarchy would destabilize the entire realm and bring nothing but fire and ruin. Given the evident providence of the deliverance, the Plot was memorialized for centuries afterwards.

Commemorating November 5th

⁶¹ Sommerville, *King James VI and I*, 148.

⁶² Donald Carswell, *Trial of Guy Fawkes and Others (The Gunpowder Plot)* (Edinburgh and London: William Hodge & Company, 1934), 67.

⁶³ The 1534 Tudor statute defined ‘treason by words’, as subjects who ‘by express writing or words’ claimed the monarch ‘should be heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper of the crown’ were traitors and would be declared and prosecuted as such. Quoted in Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law and Rebellion in Shakespeare’s England* (Cornell University Press, 2006), 2-3.

Remembrance of November 5th is reflected in poetry produced in the years which followed, as these cultural expressions provided an outlet to understand and process the Plot. John Milton's poem, *In Quintum Novembris*, tells his version the Plot, although in his tale there is only one plotter, 'perfidious Fawkes'.⁶⁴ The poet William Gager in 1608 described Guy Fawkes as "the devil of the vault", one of many examples of the campaign after the Plot when Fawkes was portrayed as monstrous.⁶⁵ A 1621 print by Samuel Ward depicts James in Parliament, beneath him three cellars, one with gunpowder, one with Guy Fawkes and the other with the rest of the Plotters.⁶⁶ Literary productions in the aftermath of November 5th remind the realm how blessed they were that James and Parliament did not perish in this plot.

One of the more popular publications in the wake of the Plot was *The Devil of the Vault* (1606), giving a dramatic narrative of the happenings in the vaults below Parliament. The Plot is put within the context of dangers Protestants faced on the continent. The Plotters described here sought to bring bloodshed from continental Europe to England's shores, "To see stern Tyrants reeking blades,/bedid with *Brittaines* blood:/Hurling amongst the Channels, like/A Scarlet colored flood."⁶⁷ The rushing of blood, and this 'Scarlet colored flood' portrays grotesque imagery of the menace Catholics posed to the Reformed. Treason is described as "the sin of treason hath cause most to affright the heart of man, not only in regard of the majesty of the Prince, who carries the Image of God, full of terror and astonishment to the wicked, but also in respect to the honor punishment that attends the fame."⁶⁸ Treason and wish to bring harm to the

⁶⁴ Hardin, 'The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: Myth in the Making', 62.

⁶⁵ Hardin, 'The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot', 69.

⁶⁶ Carlson, 'The Rhetoric of Providence', 1233.

⁶⁷ *The Devil of the Vault Or, The unmasking Murder, In a brief declaration of the Catholic-complotted Treason, lately discovered: Persons. Sat. 2.* London. Printed by E.A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his Shop near Pauls Churchyard, at *Saint Auftens Gate*. 1606, C2.

⁶⁸ *A Brand taken out of the Fire. or The Romish Spider, with his Web of Treason. Wouen and Broken: together with The several uses that the World and Church shall make thereof. Gathered out of the* 64.

chosen ruler of the English people is a most wicked crime, as it deprived the English of their blessed sovereign and would surely led to English destruction. The document poses the question of, “The practices of the wicked thus wonderfully defeated, and they being justly met with all in their mischiefs, by answerable judgments, what now is to be done by those that are delivered? what must we repay unto the Lord for all his wonderful mercies?.” The remedy necessary for the Plotters crimes was rooting out those who attempted to bring harm to England. Celebration and thanks therefore, were heartily given to God:

If the defeat of such mischiefs shall not now open our mouths to acknowledge the power, and mercy of God unto his Church, the practice whereof hath opened the mouths of the wicked, *to fay, there is no God*; Let vs look that as the Lord hath justified himself against them, by delivering us out of their hands, so will be also justified himself against vs, in laying further punishments upon us, even by exposing his people as a pray unto their enemies, that they may learn to give him the honor that is due unto his name.⁶⁹

As the wicked denied God, the Lord defied them and showed his favor by delivering his chosen people from such a heinous act. In the face of such ‘mischievous evil’, the people here are advised to keep God at the center of their thoughts and remember He had a special place for His blessed Protestant country and James’s task was to unite his kingdoms and defend Protestantism. The work continues, “Behold here the righteous and wonderful justice of God against the wicked, in rendering treason with treason, that they which have intended to betray others, shall now betray themselves, and so make way to the righteous judgments of God.”⁷⁰ Even those who defied God could not escape his punishments and righteous anger. Through his justice, God blessed those who were worthy of His praise, and cast down the wicked who defied his will. As

Psalm. At London. Printed by G. Eld for *John Hodgets*, and are to be found archbishop in Pauls Church-yard. 1606, 2-6.

⁶⁹ *The Romish Spider*....24.

⁷⁰ *The Romish Spider*....41.

God's chosen instrument, James was one of those cast up and blessed, as he acted calmly and swiftly in the face of danger.

James's grace and wise rule during the chaotic moment of discovery were complimented, as the printed works following the Plot spoke and supported tropes he used. These fit within his earlier representations of himself as a wise Solomon:

In wisdom like to *Salomon*,/his grace do fit in Princely feat:/with sword of Justice
in his hand,/to maintain truth for small and great,/He do succeeded our *Hester*
she:/who never will forgotten bee./Like *Constantine* the Emperor,/he doth begin
his royal reign [...] Laude and praise to the *Trinity*,/for our good King that is so
kind,/Let vs rejoyce in God always:/that we have seen this happy day.⁷¹

This Solomonic wisdom and James's Constantinian rule assisted him in his avoidance of danger, as he was protected by God. The sword of justice, while a more militaristic image than James typically used, was apt for the situation, given the frequent mention of 'bloodshed' in works describing the Plot. He brought England happy days through his succession to the throne, bringing peace, happiness and true religion. Later he is portrayed as famous "in *Europe* wide,/All Christians true will sing./*Let men and Angels*."⁷² Like kings of Israel, James delivered his people from wickedness by promulgating Protestantism and spreading the true word of God.

John Boys's sermon argued the Plotters did not just go against king and country, but against proper religion saying, "The gunpowder man era very much in this one kind of honoring God, for either they worship *his Saints* as himself, or else their own failings, and not *his Saints*."⁷³ Boys refers here to Catholic prayers to saints, at times was portrayed by reformed

⁷¹ *A Brief Sum of the Treason...*, C1.

⁷² *The Romish Spider*...41.

⁷³ *An Exposition of the last Psalm. Delivered in a Sermon Preached ay Pauls Cross the fifth of November 1613. What I have joined to the Festivals as a short Apology for our Holy days in the Church of England. Dedicated unto my honorable friend and most respected kinsman Sir William Monius Baronet.* By John Boys, Doctor of Divinity. At London, Imprinted by Felix Kingston, for William Aspley, 1615, 3.

religion as the worship of saints. Boys describes the providential place England held in God's eyes, and James as an instrument of the Lord's will:

But if the Lord himself had not watched over his Church, if the Lord himself had not written England in the palms of his hands, if the Lord himself had not kept King *James* as the apple of his eye, if the Lord himself had not been on our fide (now many Gods Israel in England fay) if the Lord himself had not been on our fide, when they rose up against vs, if the Lord himself had not (out of his unspeakable goodness towards vs and our posterity) broken their snares, and delivered our souls out of that horrible gunpowder pit; these bellowing Bulls of Basin, and Canon-mouthed hellhounds would have made on this day such a roar, that all Christendom should have felt it, and the whole world have feared it.⁷⁴

Here England is truly another Israel reborn, the chosen land God granted his special favor to, despite those who argued the contrary. If the Lord was not vigilant in watching over his favored church, or had James not been the 'apple of his eye', then dread and confusion would surely sweep over the land. The Lord giving special attention to England and ensuring its protection was a sign of his favor, and like his deliverance of Israel, he too delivered England from the Gunpowder Plot. As this blessed country avoided tragedy time and time again, seen in foreign and internal attacks during the reign of Elizabeth, the attempts on James's life at an early age and his avoidance of Gowrie and the Plot, proved England's providential role.

Deliverance Sermons

Bishop of Rochester's sermon in 1606 echoed the sentiment of deliverance, commending James on his actions during such a dangerous time. The sermon praised James, "that he is a King, and that he is *Gods King*; as having in him all the parts that may concur either in a King, or in a good King: to whom that title, first attributed to *David...the light of Israel*."⁷⁵ The idea of James as David and England as Israel fit within James's propaganda of himself as the

⁷⁴ *An Exposition of the last Psalm...8.*

⁷⁵ *The Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, the tenth day of November, being the next Sunday after the Discovery of this late Horrible Treason, Preached By the right Reverend Father in GOD, Williams Lord Bishop of Rochester*, London, Printed for Mathew Law, 1606, E2.

providential ruler of England. David's imagery is typically more militaristic, so the comparison between David and James here is strategic, as James in this moment needed to be vigilant in the face of such danger. A work by Thomas Cooper, *The Churches Deliverance* (1606), is a history of incidents when the church was delivered from potential disaster, ending with the Gunpowder Plot.⁷⁶ In putting James in this same history of deliverance from wicked forces, James is put into conversation not only with the history of the 'true Catholic church', but deliverance from the Plot becomes further proof of God's special favor.

William Leigh's sermon following the Plot outlined the hatred the Plotters held towards England, "intolerable cruelty of that Roman Antichrist, toward the professors of Gods truth and Religion, of whom I may truly fay, as the Prophet of the Babylonians" and further condemned the Englishmen who participated in these plots, as it was a betrayal of both country and religion.⁷⁷ To go against both God and country was a crime most heinous:

O unnatural and degenerate Englishmen, how could you ever endure, to thirst after the disunion on of so sacred a Senate, and sweet an assembly how could you find in your hearts to seek the destruction of so benign a Prince, and so Royall an issue, with the utter subversion of so glorious a flatter by bringing into the bowels thereof that Romish *Apolion*, mentioned in the Revelation, who are here he is victorious, stained the earth with blood, the air with blasphemy, and the heavens with his abominable, and luxurious incontinences.⁷⁸

The unnaturalness of this crime spoke to the extreme nature of the Plot even in an era where regicide was not an uncommon phenomenon. The thought of ruining James and future hope of England for the sake of Rome, who only looked to destroy England, is shown here as abominable

⁷⁶ *The Churches Deliverance, Containing Meditations and short notes upon The book of HESTER. In remembrance of the wonderful deliverances from the Gunpowder-Treason*, by Thomas Cooper. At London. Imprinted by G. Eld for T. Adams, and are to be fold at the white Lyon in Pauls Church-yard, 1609.

⁷⁷ *Great Britaines, Great Deliverance, from the great danger of Popish Podertans, [...] If God of his great mercy had not prevented the mischief, Pfal. 5. Verse 11. Printed for Arthur Iohfon, at the Signe of the white Horse, over against the great North door of Pauls*, William Leigh, 1606, B2.

⁷⁸ *Great Britaines, Great Deliverance*...B3-4.

and against God's plan. The Book of Revelation is mentioned here, as Roman victory would bring blood to the earth and blasphemy would reign.

Despite the multitude of commemorations and celebrations of the deliverance from evil, the Plot was used as fodder during times of contentious foreign policy to criticize the state. In the 1620s with the advent of the Thirty Years War and the possibility of a Spanish marriage between Charles, James's second son, and a Spanish Infanta, 1605 was used a reminder of the dangers of Catholicism.⁷⁹ The public memory and remembrance of 1605 slipped out of the state's control, and instead became a weapon and ammunition to level criticism against the government. 1605 became a rallying cry for discontented citizens, as it represented active action against state policies deemed non-beneficial to English citizens, explaining why 1605 was used as a reference point in arguments against the Spanish match. The callback to 1605 in the argument against the Spanish match referenced the danger Catholics so recently posed to the English state and populace. For James to ignore this past danger was portrayed by certain parties as forgetting an important part of English history.

John Donne's sermon on November 5th, 1622, at St. Paul's Cross danced around the delicate issue of what the day memorialized, lending support to James's attempts at a Spanish match. He argued James was God's instrument:

He is the word of our Text, *Spiritus*, as *Spiritus* is the Holy Ghost, so far, by accommodation, as that he is Gods instrument to convey blessings upon us; and as *spiritus* is our *breath*, or *speech*, and as it is *our life*, and as it is our *soul* too, so fare, as that in those temporal things which concern spiritual...we are to receive directions from him: So he is the *breath* of our *nostrils*, our *speech*, our *lives*, and our *souls*, in that limited sense are his.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Gills, *Commemorations*, 66.

⁸⁰ John N. Wall and Terry Bunch Burgin, 'This Sermon...upon the Gun-Powder Day': The Book of Homilies of 1547 and Donne's Sermon in Commemoration of Guy Fawkes Day, 1622', *South Atlantic Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (May, 1984), 24.

As God's instrument to convey the message of the Bible, James had a particularly important place in Donne's view of ecclesiastical life in England. Donne had long been in James's court and was a notable and prolific writer in his own right. He argued James was to be followed in things spiritual and temporal, as he was God's chosen ruler over England. In providing James with public support, Donne is another arm in James's propaganda scheme to put himself at the center of English culture and life.

Donne included in his opening that Catholics were the 'Historical and prophetical' enemies of the English people and they "attempted our ruin heretofore, and prophetically we may be sure, they will do so again; when so ever any new occasion provokes them, or sufficient power enables them."⁸¹ He expressed worry not just about England's enemies at home, but support they received abroad. He continues:

The king is *Anima regni*, The Soule of the kingdom; and to proud for the health of the body by the detriment of the Soule, is all physic. The king is *Caput regni*, the head of the kingdom, and to cure a member, by cutting of the head, is all Surgery. To pretend to uphold the kingdom, and over throw the king hath ever been a temptation before, and the excuse after in the greatest treasons.⁸²

Donne recognizes some of the disgruntlement felt towards James but argues to act against him was to act against God, as God gave James rule of Britain, making him the life and breath of the kingdom. The power and jurisdiction God granted James was indisputable, and it was the country's job to support him and "preserve him, by preserving god amongst vs in the true and sincere profession of his religion. Let not a mis-grounded and a disloyal imagination, of coolness

⁸¹ 'This Sermon...upon the Gun-Powder Day', quoted in Jeanne Shami, 'John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition, transcribed and edited with critical commentary' (Pittsburgh: Duquensne University Press, 1996), 51-3.

⁸² Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon*, 87-9.

him, cool you in your own families.”⁸³ These ‘disloyal imaginations’ needed to be tempered in the light of the majesty of James’s reign.

Anti-Scottishness in the Gunpowder Plot

While the Plot was used to criticize the government, there was an important strain of anti-Scottishness in 1605. The Plot was rumored to be formed by those within the government for their political advantage, particularly Salisbury. While November 5th served anti-Catholic propaganda, it is more difficult to ascertain what the Plotters were truly after in 1605. There were certain frustrations English Catholics felt, but there had yet to be a serious increase in anti-Catholicism since James’s accession. The Hampton Court Conference, a religious conference on the nature of Protestantism in England, was early on in his reign, and while new legislation and doctrine resulted from this, there was not a strong move made against Catholics. James had previously been lenient towards Catholics as he was in communication with the pope before 1605, and his mother was Catholic, but the papal communication proved instead to be strategic diplomacy. Thus, the timing of the attack does not necessarily fit with the timeline of Catholic policy in England. It seems more likely revenge against the government and those in it was a stronger motivating factor. James’s depiction as a foreigner remained a problem throughout his reign, so while there certainly was Catholic motivation behind the Plot, there was a strain of xenophobia present.

July 1603 Guy Fawkes was reported to be in Spain with a letter from an anonymous Englishman, who in his writing attacked the king and his Scottish retinue, fearing infiltration from the North.⁸⁴ In a confession Fawkes claimed he and the other Plotters planned to gain support from the populace by appealing to hatred of the Scots and would have “protested against

⁸³ Shami, *John Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon*, 181-3.

⁸⁴ Wormald, ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Scots’, 157.

the union, and in no sort to have meddled with Religion therein.”⁸⁵ He continued further the Plotters “protested also against all strangers”, meaning the presence of Scotsmen in England.⁸⁶ This xenophobia appealed to the mass audience, and their attempts to do so speaks to the deep vein of anti-Scottishness in English identity. Guy Fawkes was supposedly quoted during an examination by a group of Scottish courtiers he would welcome a chance to have “blown them back to Scotland.”⁸⁷ While there may not be merit to this story, it is worth noting there was a great deal of unhappiness expressed by the presence of a multitude of Scots in James’s Bedchamber, as they were allowed intimate access to not only him but possibly favors others were denied.⁸⁸ While religion and revenge were undoubtedly important motivations for the Plotters, this strain of xenophobia should not be underestimated.

In the 1580s the tract *General State of the Scottish Commonwealth with the cause of their often munities and other disorders*, made its way into print, attacking the Scottish monarchy and aristocracy.⁸⁹ While James was Protestant, Scotland was viewed as backwards, and these stereotypes only grew when James and his fellow Scots came to England in 1603.⁹⁰ The Earl of Northumberland in 1603 told James regarding the English, “The better sort amongst us fear your election of consul and instruments under you to assist you in the state will be scouts; the other that the name of Scots is harsher in the ears of vulgar.”⁹¹ Northumberland continued, “I conceive it...your majesty...will think that your honor in being reputed as king of England will be greater

⁸⁵ Nicholls, ‘Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot’, 803.

⁸⁶ Nicholls, ‘Strategy and Motivation in the Gunpowder Plot’, 804.

⁸⁷ Wormald, ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Scots’, 152-64.

⁸⁸ Diana Newton, *The making of the Jacobean regime: James VI and I and the government of England, 1603-1605* (London, 2005), 38.

⁸⁹ BL, Additional (Add.) MS 35, 844, fols, 193r-198r quoted in Wormald, ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Scots’, 158.

⁹⁰ Jenny Wormald, ‘James VI and I: Two Kings or One?’ *History* 68 (1983): 187-209.

⁹¹ Wormald, ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Scots’, 159.

than to be a king of Scots.”⁹² The pushback to James’s proposed union project provides is one example of the xenophobia present at James’s accession. Attitudes towards Scotland remained largely unchanged during James’s reign, but his ability to rule successfully and pass the throne peacefully to his son and heir Charles speaks to his skills as a monarch as well as his ability to adapt to English culture and society, and his campaign to become more English to appeal to his new subjects was at least somewhat effective. The Gunpowder Plot proved to be perhaps the most important event in James’s reign outside of the Thirty Years War, and commemorations continued long after he passed.

Remembrance after James

After James died, the Plot was long remembered as in Thomas Vicars description of what might have happened:

The joints and members of all the worthies of our land, rent and torn and scattered one from another, the walls of the street bedewed with men’s blood...your houses ravished, your wives abused, your children slaughtered; God’s Temple profaned, the King’s authority debased, the Pope’s power advanced, the pure preaching of the word abolished, the Idolatrous Superstition of the Masse established.⁹³

Vicars argues if the Plot succeeded then various limbs would be torn off and scattered, leaving England open and vulnerable to attack as this would spread chaos and destruction. The increase in papal power if the English state was ripped apart would bring ‘Idolatrous Superstition’ to Britain. Phineas Fletcher’s poem *Appollyonists* (1627) described Rome as, “Thou purple Whore, mounted on scarlet beast,/Gorg’d with the flesh, drunk with the blood of Saints,/Whose amorous golden Cup, and charmed feast/All earthly Kings, all earthly men attaints.”⁹⁴ In 1613 John Boys

⁹² Wormald, ‘Gunpowder, Treason and Scots’, 159.

⁹³ Thomas Vicars, *Edom and Babylon Against Jerusalem* (London: E. Purslow for Henry Seyle, 1633), 2-3.

⁹⁴ Stanza 4 of *The Appollyonists*, from *The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 97-186.

described November 5th as a day to celebrate that England was not “a very shambles of Italian and Ignatian butchers.”⁹⁵

During the reign of Charles I, commemorations continued, including *Prayers and Thanksgiving To be used by all of the Kings Majesties loving Subjects, For the happy deliverance of His Majesty the Queen, Prince and States of Parliament*. The blessings of England are expressed:

And that no Nation of the earth hath been blessed with greater benefits then this Kingdome now enjoyed, having the true and free profession of the Gospel under our most Sovereign Lord King James, the most Great, Learned and Religious King that that ever reigned therein, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful Progeny, proceeding out of his Royall loins, promising continuance of this happiness and profession to all posterity.⁹⁶

The danger England faced refers to not just the Gunpowder Plot but previous encounters, notably the 1588 Armada attack by Spain. The praise for James is prominent, as he is portrayed as a learned king who successfully reproduced and left the kingdom in safe hands, continuing the happiness and peace of his own reign. Here we gain a glimpse into James’s treatment upon his passing, particularly as it related to the Gunpowder Plot. The memory of 1605 was wielded during Charles’s reign as a method to criticize the monarchy, in a manner like its use under James.

Conclusion

When we arrive at the end of the end of the seventeenth century, the consistent celebration of November 5th as a delivery and continuing commemorations speaks to the importance of the event regarding English identity and culture. Despite the backlash he received,

⁹⁵ From *An Exposition of the Last Psalm. Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross* (1615); rpt. in Maclure, ed., *The Paul’s Cross Sermons*, 235.

⁹⁶ *Prayers and Thanksgiving To be used [...] From the most Traitorous and Bloody intended Massacre by Gun-powder, fifth of November. 1605*. London, 1635, A 2-3.

James's faith in his providence and his self-representation as Solomon and Constantine was never shaken, in fact the Plot seems to have only furthered his confidence in his divine mission. The Gunpowder Plot anglicized James in a manner which he failed to do on his own, as he was now part of one of the most dramatic threats to England in recent memory, along with the 1588 Armada. He was now an important part of English history, much as Elizabeth I faced down threats from Catholics overseas, so he providentially survived an attempted attack by Catholics at home. Inclusion of yearly commemorations in The Book of Common Prayer meant the English populace was continuously reminded of the mutual threat the royal family, Parliament, and other members of the state faced together, and that the thwarting of this plot proved England's role in God's divine plan.

James's sense of his own providence is critical in understanding how he viewed his power, and his consistent defense and explanation of his power shows that while he was confident he had divine imperative to rule, the persistent threats he faced worried him. While he certainly preferred print and written mechanisms to articulate his power, his perceived necessity to do so is telling of the general atmosphere of his reign. He integrated himself into the Protestant mythology of the might and power of England as he too was directly threatened by the Gunpowder Plot, and for some time this bonded him more firmly to his English subjects. The memory of the Plot after James's reign, while not necessarily the focal point of this chapter, is important to note, as this has been manipulated to suit the interest of various competing factions and later political parties. The myth and memory of 1605 took on its own life, much in the same way memory of the 1588 Armada influenced Elizabeth and then James's reign, so too did the Gunpowder Plot impact future Stuart monarchs.

The Plot encapsulates all of James's representational efforts, and as it occurred early on in his reign and set the stage for his representational strategies throughout the rest of his reign. 1605 became a critical part of English patriotism and identity, as it was a dramatic reminder of threats England faced, and their ability to avoid these proved their providential place in God's plan. James's inclusion in this threat brought him into English cultural traditions. The Gunpowder Plot signifies many of the themes in James's representation including his comparisons to Solomon and Constantine. His public presentation as these two figures are important when unpacking his own representational strategy, and reception of these images indicates James was successful in his public performance.

Chapter 3. Constantine, Solomon and Protestant Consciousness

Constantine charges his sons...that they should be Christians in earnest. King James hath done the like in learned and divine precepts, which shall live till time be no more. Yea, in their very coyness in a resemblance: Constantine had his picture stamped upon his medals praying, King James hath his picture with a prayer about it; O Lord, protect the Kingdoms which thou hast united.¹

--Joseph Hall
An Holy Panegyrick

In an era saturated by religion, the political representation of the monarch was heavily informed by the theology they and therefore the country practiced. Religion was a focal point for identity, and at times competed with other pre-existing identities including social and political, cutting fault lines throughout England and Europe. While Protestants and Catholics held distinct views on what the right type of religion was, they were both firmly convinced their version of Christianity was the correct one. This left no separation between religion and politics, as the two informed one another. With these religious divides and competing ideologies, many looked to the monarch for spiritual guidance.² The legacy of the English Reformations along with the centralization of power under the Tudor and the Stuart crowns gave birth to a new type of collective consciousness, frequently expressed through print publications. The trajectory of the English Reformations meant increased focus on public representation of the monarchy, as monarchs were the leader and symbol of the commonwealth.³

The importance of James's religious representation is difficult to underestimate given the impact of the English Reformations and the special place they occupied in English identity and popular consciousness. There was a special type of patriotism surrounding the English church, as

¹ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, 234.

² Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 9-11.

³ Argued by Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Monarchy*, Chapter 1.

seen in Elizabeth's legacy during James's reign, as she was remembered as a Protestant warrior and protector of her 'children', i.e. the English. James's portrayal as a new Constantine and Solomon was his preferred method to include himself in English cultural traditions. His religious representation is important when considering English identity, as he needed to use past cultural traditions, while also honoring the history of the English Reformations. In Scotland, there was a similar attachment to religious history, as the Kirk was uniquely Scottish in its origin and its continuing relationship with governing powers. This chapter examines the nature of James's religious representation, how this fit within popular consciousness in England, and in the next chapter challenges to his chosen imagery will be examined. It is important to establish the base of James's views on his power and belief in his divine providence as the basis of his power before examining debates regarding his power and prerogative as they occurred in Parliament and in the public sphere.

Increasing print circulation meant new avenues to criticize the monarch in the public sphere and discussion of religious and political ideas.⁴ To combat these negative perceptions and new opinions expressed on the monarchs' policies, the monarch was now required to court public opinion, frequently done through public interactions or circulated print materials. The public sphere was space for increased communication, and a way to appeal to the public during times of political crisis. When James came to the English throne in 1603, he already experienced religious trials and tribulations during his Scottish rule. Furthermore, by the time of his coming to England he firmly articulated his viewpoints on the role of religion in the monarch's representation, as well as the general limits and expectations of what the monarch was supposed to do and not to do. The two most distinct articulations of his views on kingship as it related to

⁴ Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 2006, p. 272

religion are found in *The True Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilicon Doron*. These works represent James's need to argue for his sacred authority, as it was providence which brought him to the English throne. A way to demonstrate this type of authority was the written word, a type of 'representational performance'.⁵

Representational Performance

Increasing circulation of print materials was the method James employed to ensure his works were disseminated to the English, letting his new subjects familiarize themselves with his expectations. Representational performance is the art of public presentation where the actor carefully curates his public image to convey a specific message done through print, portraiture, public performances and proclamations. James's strategies for his representational performances was through print, as he portrayed himself as Constantine, David, and Solomon. James was firmly invested in print as a representational strategy, portraying himself as an expert on the Bible.⁶ One image he conveyed was of a wise Solomon, guiding his people towards proper religion. A challenge James faced was the legacy of Elizabeth as a Protestant warrior, as his own representational strategies focused on his peacekeeping missions. Her reign is littered with images of her as a Second Virgin Mary, the mother to her people, a wise and divinely inspired Deborah and the savior of the English during an attack by the tyrannical Catholic powerhouse of Spain during the Armada faceoff in 1588. This mythologized version of her was an impossible standard to live up to, and did not necessarily reflect the truth of Elizabeth's reign, leaving James navigating difficult territory as he must respect her legacy and build his own public image in England. In a world split by the confessional divide and frequent religious warfare, Protestantism was at the heart of Englishness. Elizabeth fully enveloped herself in English and Protestant

⁵ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 21.

⁶ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 24.

representation, as James reconfigured her legacy to suit his needs. This was made no easier given his Scottish heritage, fears regarding his religious proclivities and how his rule could change England. The nature of the English Reformation was such that the monarch became not only a living representative of England itself, but of English religion, meaning the monarch's religious leanings were under critical scrutiny not only by courtiers but the populace. As printed materials were consumed, James focused on the physical representations of English religion, embarking upon beautification campaigns, where he attended to the physical needs of the church, including repairing chapels and other religious gathering places.

Civic Religion

James attended to the more physical needs of the church, particularly the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, damaged by fire in 1561. On March 26th, 1620, he led a special procession, following this a ceremony was held where John King's sermon announced plans for restoration.⁷ The rebuilding of a temple allowed James to portray himself as a new Solomon, restoring the visible and living church within his country's capital. The art and architecture in royal chapels served as a reflection of the sovereign's power, focusing on dynastic and religious iconography. The chapel at Richmond contained depictions of English kings, Greenwich heraldic badges, and Whitehall Tudor roses.⁸ While he was occupied with physically rebuilding the church, James rebuilt church life by unifying doctrine, and bringing peace to his realms. The image of James restoring peace was confirmed by figures such as James Montague, the bishop of Winchester, who argued James restored peace in a manner like Augustus:

Never hath there been so universal a Peace in Christendom since the time of our Savior Christ, as in those his Days: and, I dare say, as much, if not more, by the procurement of his Majesty, then by any other earthly means in this world...With Peace GOD hath given us Plenty...never was Justice administered with more

⁷ Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', 79.

⁸ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 7-8.

liberty from the King, nor more uprightness from the Judges. And yet in the free dispensation of Justice, Mercy never did more triumph.⁹

The peace James brought was like the peace Jesus brought when he was sent to earth by God. With this peace, James brought an era of plenty, where people enjoyed liberties, solid and sensible rule, and the gift of a wise king. His administration of justice is depicted as admirable and worthy of respect. While this is certainly high praise of James and clearly written from a biased point of view as it was included in his own published works, this indicates the type of flattery James wished to hear. By showing himself as a godly figure in print, he placed himself on a pedestal of godly kingship. James's continued insistence on his God-given prerogative to rule not only justified his sovereignty, but proved his worthiness of ruling the English people, as he wove himself into English society.

Protestant Calendar

James's public presentation as a godly and learned king was a useful public act, as it openly demonstrated his pious ways. On certain anniversaries the government issued special sermons to be delivered from the pulpit, as a reminder of the bond between James and his subjects to gain patriotic support. In these sermons, James's reign is depicted as a blessing from God, showing England's special place in God's design as England was repeatedly delivered from the dangers of Catholicism and the radicalism it inspired. Preachers proclaimed loyalty to the king as a 'providentially ordained ruler', and accompanying civic entertainments solidified this message as bonfires were struck and bells rung in a loud and raucous celebration of the glory of James's reign.¹⁰ In an annual celebration of deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, James listened to sermons in commemoration of his and his government's rescue from this attempted

⁹ Graham, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, 26.

¹⁰Houlbrooke, *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority and Government*, 109.

act of violence. Samuel Garey in *Great Britains little calendar; or, Triple diary* (1618) included entries discussing the evils of popery of attempted Catholic resistance.

The calendar included notable Protestant events, becoming a patriotic celebration for all in England to celebrate. The calendrical celebrations of various Protestant events meant manipulation of memory through government-controlled celebrations, and while this at times slipped away from the crown's control, these dramatized acts spoke to the special providence of England, important in construction of Protestant civic memory. The notion of England as holding special importance to God's plan is reflected in a poem by John Milton who argued God was "Brittain's God...hath yet ever had this Island under the special indulgent eye of his providence."¹¹ In tying himself to this providential vision James reinforced his own power, displaying why it was a divine necessity to trust his will as the new head of the English church.

Legacy of the English Reformations

The nature of the English Reformations needs to be discussed briefly to fully understand the integration between the representation of the monarch and religion in England. Compared to the continent, England experienced rather peaceful reformations, with Henry VIII's changes in the 1530s revolving more around removing the power of the papacy in England, and transferring that power to himself. With these religious changes came The Treason Act, The Oath of Supremacy, The Act in Restraint of Appeals and promises of obedience to the crown. Within these acts there is language implying the King or Queen of England was an emperor within their borders, as they were the head of religious and political life. By melding the monarch so firmly into England's religion, their representation became holy, giving a religious dimension to their public presentation. The nature of the English Reformations made them uniquely English,

¹¹ John Milton, *Animadversions*, ed. Harry Morgan Ayres, *The Works of John Milton*, vol. 3, part I (New York, 1931), 144-5.

meaning the populace had a special tie to their religion, much in the same way the Scottish had a particular attachment to the Kirk. There were continuing struggles over the exact nature of proper Protestant doctrine, but it was undoubtedly anti-Catholic. It was during the reign of James's predecessor that Protestantism was fully melded into English society, and the Tudor legacy provided James with useful representational strategies. As Protestantism was melded into English society and culture, so much the monarch, as the head of the Church of England, became a physical representation of the church, meaning their public presentation was critical.

Tudor Legacy

James recognized Elizabeth's legacy, tracing her lineage and therefore his own, back to Roman emperors, promising to rule as she did and cultivate the people's trust during his reign. In praising her, he tied himself to a popular figure, furthering her mythology while also making himself an extension of it, thus making himself more English. Prior to his accession to the English throne James described Elizabeth as:

But notwithstanding, since there is a lawful Queen there presently reigning, who hath so long with so great wisdom and felicity governed her kingdoms, as (I must in true sincerity confess) the like hath not been read nor heard of, either in our time, or since the days of the Roman Emperor *Augustus*; it could no ways become me, far inferior to her in knowledge and experience, to be a busy-body in other princes matters, and to fish in other folks waters, as the proverb is.¹²

Pulling from Elizabeth's example of wise and honorable rule, James presented himself not only as her legitimate successor, but one who would inspire the same type of love she received. In keeping with her Christian rule, he abated some of the criticism levelled against him, particularly the damning argument he favored Catholics above Protestants. Rather he promised to have a 'happy government', honoring her legacy. His goals differed from Elizabeth's, as he focused on

¹² Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 209-210.

his image as a peacemaker and a Solomon-like ruler who buttressed the English church and ensured it was in line with God's divine will and providence.

As the recipient of the legacy of Henry VIII's religious changes and Elizabeth's iconography, James was given two Protestant heroes to find inspiration for his own iconography and more sharply define his role as King of England. During the English Reformation Henry relied upon language Emperor Constantine used when making Christianity a legal religion of the Roman Empire, *religio licita*.¹³ As emperor in his own kingdom, the king exercised power to regulate laws as he saw fit within his borders. In the Act of Restraint of Appeals (1533) under Henry VIII, English subjects were forbidden from appealing to Rome in cases of ecclesiastical or civil issues, ensuring the pope's rules had no valid legal footing in England. In the same Act, Henry referred to the Code of Justinian for historical justification for his newfound powers.¹⁴ When James ascended, he took the title Henry held as the Head of the Church of England, providing him firm legal footing to enact religious policy as he saw fit. James's experiences in the Scottish Reformation made him particularly sensitive regarding questions of his authority, as he experienced a lack of control early on in his reign due to his minority, and when he became older fought to regain a firm grasp on ecclesiastical and political policy in Scotland.

Legacy of the Scottish Reformation

The bloody and violent nature of the Scottish Reformation left a clear mark on James, as he worried about radical Puritans as a potential threat to his power due to their attempts to establish a more decentralized church. James viewed Puritan nonconformity and the dangers it posed as active threats, attempting to stamp these out whenever possible. James preferred the hierarchy of the English church, as seen in his writing on the Scottish and English Reformation:

¹³ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 18.

¹⁴ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 18.

I protest upon mine honor, I mean it not generally of all preachers or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our Church [of Scotland], than of the many ceremonies in the Church of England; that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, the cornered cap and such like are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed as indifferent) as I do equally love and honor the learned and grave men of either these opinions.¹⁵

James was concerned with questioning of the hierarchical structure of episcopacy, as this might threaten his place in ecclesiastical and political hierarchy: ‘no bishop, no king’. James ensured once he came of age he restored religious hierarchy in Scotland, done through the ‘Black Acts’. There were Puritans in England who wished for England to adopt a religious structure like Scotland’s, hoping James’s arrival in England would mean substantial changes to the English church.

In 1572 John Field and Thomas Wilcox, two English Puritans, produced *Admonition to the Parliament*, where they argued for making the English church more like “all the best reformed churches throughout Christendom.”¹⁶ Christopher Goodman described the English church as containing “divers monuments of superstition”, and praised the church of Scotland for following Reformed laws and practices.¹⁷ The difference between Scottish and English religion was noted by James who in 1604 told his bishops, “You may now safely wear your caps: but I shall tell you, if you should walk in one street in Scotland with such a cap on your head, if I were not with you, you should have been stoned to death with your cap.”¹⁸ James acknowledged the Reformed nature of the Scottish church, as he was aware of the differences between the two

¹⁵ Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993), 25.

¹⁶ James Kirk, ‘“The Polities of the Best Reformed Kirks’: Scottish Achievements and English Aspirations in Church Government and the Reformation’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 167, Part 1 (Apr., 1980), 22.

¹⁷ Kirk, ‘The Polities of the Best Reformed Kirks’, 23.

¹⁸ Kirk, ‘The Polities of the Best Reformed Kirks’, 27.

churches, and while not diametrically opposed, there was more pomp and circumstance surrounding English ecclesiastical life than Scotland. James's accession gave hope for increased enforcement of Reformed religion in England, but his focus on hierarchy and place at the head of the church meant this was never fully realized.

James attempted to make the Kirk more like the English, but only later in his Scottish reign when his inheritance of the English throne seemed exceedingly likely. His goal of making the Scottish church more Anglican was not necessarily one motivated by politique thinking, rather one of James's overarching goals throughout his life was the reunification of Christendom under one religious banner. There was sound reasoning in attempting to first bring together the English and Scottish churches before turning his eye to the continent, explaining why he so wished to see the union project succeed. There was hope from English puritans James would bring the English church in line with the kirk, explaining in part the presentation of the Millenary Petition to James upon his journey south in 1603.¹⁹ James gave the episcopacy in Scotland increased power in 1606, and in 1610 bishops could create courts of high commission.²⁰

Settling Religion in England

Upon receiving the Millenary Petition, James decided he must act decisively to address the religious issues it presented. The Millenary petition asked for "uniformity of doctrine" and that there be "no popish opinion to be any more taught and defended."²¹ He called the Hampton Court Conference, a meeting of England's leading theologians to discuss religious issues in England, leading the charge of religious reform in England. In March 1604 James reissued The

¹⁹ Alan R. MacDonald, 'James VI and I, the Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Dec., 2005), 885.

²⁰ MacDonald, 'James VI and I, the Church of Scotland and British Ecclesiastical Convergence', 890.

²¹ Peter White, *Predestination, policy and polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 142.

Book of Common Prayer via proclamation, publicly displaying his dedication to Protestantism.

Following the example of these Christian princes, James set about refining religious doctrine, expressing in a letter to John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, his worry about the extent of church abuses:

As by our late proclamation you may perceive what our intent is in matter ecclesiastic of this realm, and what care we have to preserve the same in such state as we found them established by your laws, and not to give way to unquiet persons, out of private humors, to impugn them: so that we thought it convenient to let you understand that informations from many places of our kingdom, and from persons of great sort, are so continually and so credibly delivered unto us, as we cannot but give you some word to hear that in many parts of the realm the parishes are so ill-served with persons not able to instruct in matters of their faith as is very scandalous to those of your degree.²²

James expresses his desire to hear from different perspectives to receive the best possible information and find a solution for problems in the English church and address these in a thorough manner. Hearing from all sides would make his final judgments fairer and more even-handed, rather than those of a tyrant who listened to no other man. One of the themes in these ongoing debates was the problem of uniformity, as a country divided on its own religious doctrine was one susceptible to outside influence, the most dangerous of which was Catholic forces abroad.

October 25th, 1604, James issued a declaration saying he was “persuaded that both the constitution and the doctrine of the church” was “agreeable to God’s word and near to the condition of the Primitive Church.”²³ At the Hampton Court conference he said, “It is no novel device but according to the example of all Christian princes, for kings to take the first course for establishing of the church, both in doctrine and policy. To this very Heathen related in their

²² G.P.V. Alkregg, G.P.V. (ed.), *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 216.

²³ White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 143.

power, *A Jove principium*.”²⁴ James believed it his duty and right for kings to lead the church and craft policy, and as a Solomonic prince who produced much of his own religious poetry and other such writings, James saw himself as especially fit for this role. John King preached a sermon on September 30th, 1606, at the Conference, declaring “our Solomon or *Pacificus* liveth”, celebrating the peace and stability James brought with him to England.²⁵ The Hampton Court Conference was a representational performance for James, as well as a way for him to address concerns brought before him. He acted as the wise Solomon presiding over religious disputes, settling church affairs with his self-proclaimed wisdom and bringing religious conformity to England.

A proclamation issued in July 1604 stated the crown’s desire to, “settle the affairs of this Church of England in a Uniformity as well of Doctrine, as of Government, both of them agreeable to the Word of God, the Doctrine of the Primitive Church.”²⁶ The proclamation continued, “[O]ur duty towards God requires at our hands, that what untractable men do not perform upon admonition, they must be compelled unto by Authority, whereof the Supreme power resting in our hands, by Gods ordinance, We are bound to use the same in nothing, then in preservation of the Churches tranquility.”²⁷ The resulting canons from this convocation were quickly put into place, as James declared he understood the true nature of Catholicity. By true Catholicity he meant following traditions set forth in Scripture, the creeds, early church fathers and early general church councils. The enforcement of true Catholicity was near and dear to James’s heart, therefore any changes to religious doctrine made under his watch brought England closer to true religion:

²⁴ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 7.

²⁵ Fincham and Lake, ‘The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I’, 169.

²⁶ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 86.

²⁷ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 87.

I could wish from my heart that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general Christian union in religion, as laying willfulness aside in both hands, we might meet in the midst, which is the center and perfection of all things. For if they would leave, and be ashamed of such new and gross corruption of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation, I would for mine own part be content to meet them in the mid-way.²⁸

This union in religion speaks to James's wider project for a union of religion on the continent, with Christendom united behind one banner, and James heading the charge to solve political and religious crises.

James's argument for a general Christian union referred to England and Scotland and how the two meeting together in the center would lead to a 'perfect' union, and he would willingly work with others to reach this mutual goal. The idea of a 'general Christian union in religion' spoke to his campaign to end religious warfare in Europe, attempting to do so through diplomacy and strategic marriages for his children. Here we see again the notion of a 'perfect union' of religion. Should people choose not to follow this path they would be ashamed and disgusted by their lack of willingness to work with James and achieve this holiness. James claimed he would compromise to bring this union to fruition, showing himself willing to put his ego aside if it was for the greater good. Closer to home, he wished for religious unity amongst the English people, preferring moderates over extremists of any kind.

In the Act of Uniformity, the Church of England became the guiding mechanism for religious practices in England. The nature of public worship was tied to loyalty to the natural-born church and the crown itself, as the two operated as one.²⁹ A royal proclamation in 1604 intended "to require and enjoin all men, as well Ecclesiastical and Temporal, to conform themselves unto and to practice thereof [The Book of Common Prayer], as the only Public

²⁸ Fincham, *The Early Stuart Church*, 221.

²⁹ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 26.

Forum of serving of God, established and allowed to be in this Realm.”³⁰ Following The Book of Common Prayer brought the English a step closer to total doctrinal and spiritual uniformity, under James’s direction. It is difficult to overemphasize how important The Book of Common Prayer was, as it attempted to establish uniformity throughout England, with common prayers said before the populace. James utilized examples from Biblical kings to argue the type of ecclesiastical power kings exercised was a long-standing duty of religious princes, and it was only natural and right he ruled in a similar manner. As James governed the church, he cited his own coronation oath as proof of his ecclesiastical supremacy:

And therefore in the coronation of their own Kings, as well as of every Christian monarch they give their oath, first to maintain the religious presently professed within their country, according to their laws, whereby it is established, and to punish all those that should press to alter, or disturb the profession thereof.³¹

James argues one of the main tasks he and other monarchs had was maintenance of true religion, and the duty to punish those who digressed from these laws. There were tensions over legal and doctrinal viewpoints in the church, and question of where true power and authority lay. The High Commission held authority over ministry, and The Act of Supremacy implied some of the powers of the crown could be given to others via letters patent.³² In his attempt to establish uniformity and show his abilities as a theologian, James ensured works he produced were quickly circulated amongst the populace, arguing he played a special role in God’s providence.

James produced a new version of the *Bishops Bible*, and published his own works *The Essays of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584) and *Ane Fruitful Meditation, Containing ane Plane and Facil Expolicum*.³³ *Ane Fruitful Meditation* was printed in 1588 following the

³⁰ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 29.

³¹ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 37.

³² Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 68.

³³ Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 135.

Armada, and argues England and Scotland should unify for the safety of both realms. One passage reads, “we may...concur anew with another as warriors in anew camp and citizens of and beloved city, for maintenance of ye guide cause God has clad us with, and defense of our liberties, native country, and lifes.”³⁴ As a champion and bringer of peace to the island, James believed himself a vehicle for God’s providence.

Apology for the Oath of Allegiance

James’s *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* explains his reasons for religious reform, his expectations of his subjects and what they should expect of him. While this directly addressed expectations of the English and Scottish, this work was meant to be consumed by an international audience, adding additional layers of meaning behind his writing.

I doe not mean by this to move you to make stronger Lawes then are already made, but see those Lawes may be well executed that are in force; otherwise they cannot but fall into contempt and become rusty. I never found that blood and too much severity did good in matters of Religion: for, besides that it is a sure rule in Divinity, that god never loves to plant his Church by violence and bloodshed, natural reason may even persuade us, and daily experience proves it true. That when men are surely persecuted for Religion, the gallantness of many mens spirits, and the willfulness of their humors, rather then the justness of the cause, makes them to take a pride boldly to endure any torments or death it self, to gain thereby the reputation of Martyrdom, though but in a false shadow.³⁵

James argues the persecution of marginalized religions can be dangerous as it led to martyrdom, and there were other ways to successfully embark upon religious change. He argues new laws might not be necessary, but rather the need was for consistent reinforcement, a problem referred to during the Hampton Court Conference. He made it his mission to ensure pre-existing laws were fully executed, and in the process of doing so there would be no violence, not only because God abhors it, but this would taint the church with bloodshed. This legacy of bloodshed reflects

³⁴ Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 140.

³⁵ ‘Speech to Parliament of 21 March 1610’ in Sommerville, *King James VI and I*, 199-200.

memory of the reign of Mary I, commonly referred to as ‘Bloody Mary’ for her frequent burning of Protestant leaders. As *Rex Pacificus* James must avoid this type of violence. He argues a church founded in bloodshed went against the wishes of God, as people should be brought into the fold by their own self-discovery of the nature of true religion.

King James Bible

The nationalization of the English Church was furthered during James’s reign through the 1611 production of the King James Bible, commissioned following the Hampton Court Conference. Nationalization here refers to the uniquely English nature of the English church, as the English Reformation proved to be a peaceful when compared to the continent, as the monarch led the charge for religious reform, thus intertwining political, civic and religious life in a manner unseen in other territories. There was backlash to Protestant policies, notably the Pilgrimage of Grace during Henry VIII’s reign. This process of nationalization was critical in the ever-evolving nature of English identity, as well as new strains of patriotism, particularly regarding religion. William Tyndale, an English scholar, provided a translation of the Bible into English, but government support behind the translation and production of the English Bible was an important undertaking.³⁶ This was a Bible officially commissioned by the Church of England and included a dedication to James.³⁷ It read, “But how shall men mediate in that which they cannot understand? How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? As it is written, *except I know the power of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh, a barbarian, and he that speaketh, shall be a barbarian to me.*”³⁸ While it was not known at the time the massive impact the King James Bible would have, it is certainly one of James’s most

³⁶ Patrick Collinson, *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 168.

³⁷ Augtherson, *The English Renaissance*, 16.

³⁸ Augtherson, *The English Renaissance*, 16-17.

outstanding legacies. By providing his subjects with a tool to study scripture, he gave them the ability to more deeply and meaningfully understand the word of God and his prophets. James's involvement in the crafting of this new English Bible is important, as he did not appreciate certain teachings in the Geneva Bible which he viewed as anti-monarchical.

In James funeral sermon, *Great Britain's Salomon* (1625), delivered by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln in Westminster Abbey, Williams praises the king's learning, accomplishments, and viewed him as a Solomon in England:

You know best, that no Book will serve this turn, but the Book of Kings: no King, but one of the best Kings: none of the best Kings, but one that reigned over all Israel, which must either be Saul (as yet good) or David or Salomon: no king of all Israel but one of the wisest Kings, neither unless he be a King of Peace, which cannot be David, a Man of War, but only Salomon [...] All kinds of learning highly improved, manufacturers at home daily invented, Trading abroad exceedingly multiplied, the Borders of Scotland peaceably settled, the North of Ireland religiously planted, the Navy Royall magnificently furnished, Virginia, New Found-Land, and New England peopled, the East India well traded, Persia, China and the Mogor visited, lastly, all ports of Europe, Afrique, Asia and America to our red crosses freed and opened.³⁹

This best of kings, the one who reigned over Israel, a true Solomon who attempted to bring no warfare to his kingdom is mourned in this speech. While there was blood spilt in these quests, James's reign was predominately peaceful. The praise of James as a learned Peacemaker fits within the legacy he wished to project, and recognizes the multitude of other achievements James scored during his reign. His image as Peacemaker and a learned and wise ruler was further reflected in sermons.

The Culture of Sermons

Sermons were a critical part of the public performance of religion, as James focused on the academic study of scripture and hearing of sermons, considering himself something of a

³⁹ John Williams, *Great Britains Salomon* (1625), 2, 52.

theologian.⁴⁰ When he first learned Elizabeth died and he was King of England, he attended a public sermon in Edinburgh. Afterwards he addressed those there, asking them to continue their “obedience, love and charity”, promising to love them as their natural king.⁴¹ Due to the public nature of the office of monarchy, James himself was living iconography and subject to the public eye, with his every move analyzed, as he was the embodiment of godly English religion and England itself. Attending public ceremonies was part of this, as the monarch showed off his religious excursions.

The public rituals and displays of religiosity highlight the close link between religion and civic consciousness, seen through the display of royal arms in multiple parishes, as the crown appropriated holy spaces to display their power.⁴² Despite the break with Rome, there were certain ritualistic elements present within English church life, and these became imbued with images of the crown’s power. There included Sunday and holy day processions to and from chapels as part of a ceremonial exegesis.⁴³ As John Donne said in one of his first court sermons, “as Princes are Gods, so their well govern’d Courts, are Copies, and representations of Heaven.”⁴⁴ As this humanly representation of heaven, James needed to publicly present himself as a learned and wise king, dedicated to religion and ensuring true religion was present throughout England.

⁴⁰ McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*, 6.

⁴¹ T.M. *The True Narration of the Entertainment of His Royal Majesty, From the Time of His Departure from Edenborough Till His Receiving at London With All or the Most Special Occurrences*, sigs. B2v-3. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 91.

⁴² Carl B. Estabrook, ‘Ritual, Space, and Authority in Seventeenth-Century English Cathedral Cities’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 32, No. 4, The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe (Spring 2002), 593-5.

⁴³ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 25-26.

⁴⁴ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 37.

Court Sermons

Francis Mason, Archdeacon of Norfolk, delivered the sermon *The Authority of the Church in making Canons and Distitutions* (1605) outlining the obedience owed to kings, and the imperial nature of English monarchs:

By the ancient laws of this realm, this kingdom of ENGLAND *is an absolute Empire and Monarchies*, consisting of one head, which is the *King* [...] Now the King of England being an absolute Sovereign, and consequently by the law of God supreme governor over all persons and causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal, within his own dominions, may be the ancient *prerogative and laws* of England, make an *Ecclesiastical commission*, by *advise whereof*, or of the *Metropolitan*, he may according to his Princely wisdom, *ordain and publish such ceremonies, or rites, as shall be most for the advancement of Gods glory, the edification of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs holy mysteries and Sacraments*. And it is further enacted by authority of *Parliament*, that the *Convocation* shall bee assembled always by virtue of the *Kings Writ*, and that their Canons shall not be put in execution, unless they be approved by *Royall assent*.⁴⁵

As the absolute monarch and head of the body politic, James was granted sovereignty over his subjects, as confirmed by “Highness letters Patents, under the great Seale of England”.⁴⁶ The sermon affirms James’s power to make ecclesiastical decisions, and indeed the unique place of England in God’s plan, “so God hath loved the Church of England above many other Churches.”⁴⁷ The notion of God placing special value on the English church meant special value was also on the head of the English church, as they were the ones tasked with the spiritual guidance of the country. A sermon by D. Andrewes preached before James on Good Friday in

⁴⁵ Francis Mason, *The Authority of the Church in making Canons and Distitutions concerning things indifferent, And the obedience thereto required: with particular application to the present estate of the Church of England. Delivered in a Sermon preached in the Greeneyard in Norwich the third Sunday after Trinity*, 1605, 15.

⁴⁶ Mason, *The Authority of the Church*, 16.

⁴⁷ Mason, *The Authority of the Church*, 16.

1604 argued for the holy place of kings, as well as the importance of piety and avoidance of sin as to not provoke God's wrath.⁴⁸

James's opening address to Parliament in March 1604 called for "a general Christian union in Religion" was "grounded on Scripture and the practice of the primitive church and affected through a council of Christian princes, superior in authority to the pope."⁴⁹ He attempted to secure peace by appealing to the papacy and Puritans alike. In his call for general council he showed himself as a new Constantine, a useful device portraying him as opposite to the pope and fulfilling one of the roles the pope claimed: upholding true religion and unity of Christendom.

Divine Power

James argued since the beginning of English and Scottish history, kings owned the areas they conquered and ruled. It was therefore their duty to create a legal system and accompanying laws to govern their kingdoms, "And so it follows of necessity, that the kings were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings."⁵⁰ His assertion here is consistent with other works where he argued the king's word superseded the law. In *True Law* James claimed the origins of monarchy were both historical and religiously inspired:

As to the other branch of this mutual and reciprocity band, is the duty and allegiance that the Lieges owe to their King: the ground whereof, I take out the words of *Samuel*, dited by Gods Spirit, when god had given him commandment to hear the peoples voice in choosing and anointing them a King. And because that place of Scripture being well understood, is so pertinent for our purpose, I have insert herein the very words of the Text.⁵¹

The duty lieges owed to their king is one James sees not just as ordained by God in the Book of Samuel, but one which was natural and mutual. He saw it as his duty to hear the people, as

⁴⁸ D. Andrewes, Deane of Westminster, *The Copy of the Sermon preached on Good-Friday before the Kings Majesty*, Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, April 1604, B6.

⁴⁹ Fincham and Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I', 182.

⁵⁰ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 178.

⁵¹ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 171.

during the coronation his subjects chose and anointed him as their king, and in doing so they now owed him allegiance and should follow his laws. He argues Scripture is quite clear on this point and to oppose him as their anointed king was to go against the laws of nature and defied the word of God.

James provided further biblical support by citing the Book of Samuel as providing precedent for God's special favor for kings. He argues for his right over people and property given the king's superiority over the law:

But by the contrary it is plain, and evident, that this speech of *Samuel* to the people, was to prepare their hearts before the hand to the due obedience of that King, which God was to give unto them; and therefore opened up unto them [...] Since god hath granted you importunate suit in gluing you a king, as yee have else committed an error in shaking off Gods yoke, and over-hasty seeking of a King; so beware yee fall not into the next, in casting off also rashly that yoke, which God at your earnest suite hath laid upon you, how hard that ever it seems to be [...] The best and noblest of your blood shall be compelled in slavish and servile offices to serve him: And not content of his own patrimony, will make up a rent to his own use out of your best lands, vineyards, orchards, and store of cattle: So as inserting the Law of nature, and office of a King, your persons and the persons of your posterity, together with your lands, and all that ye possess shall serve his private use and inordinate appetite.⁵²

As God gifted the people with a king, to shirk the king's power or to deny his will was the same as ridding themselves of God, as God united the office of kingship with the law of nature. The role of natural law was critical in English history, arising repeatedly in legal arguments, and frequently used in court cases. By asserting himself as an extension of this natural law, James married himself to English history and holy rule. This marriage between the legal system, God's will and providence, and the king, elevated the monarch's role to one of 'divine consequence'. James further expounded on the legal consequences of overturning natural law, as God would not allow subjects to break the contract with their king, and God was the only one who could

⁵² Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 176.

judge the sovereign. James argues, “Now in this contract (I say) betwixt the king and his people God is doubtless the only judge, both because to him only the king must make count of his administration...as likewise by the oath in the coronation, god is made judge.”⁵³ James’s ideas did not exist in a vacuum; there is a massive amount of literature by English authors and nobles agreeing with and expanding upon this notion of divine rulership.

William Willymatt, an English author and rector of Ruskington, argued kings were civil and spiritual leaders, giving them divine responsibility to govern their subjects. This divine-right view of kingship is articulated in his writing:

All such both supreme and inferior civil Magistrates are ministers armed with both laws and sword, to be nurses to Gods church or people, and Fathers to the common-wealth, to guide, govern, and order the people within their several circuits and charges....to execute justice and discipline, as well in Ecclesiastical, as in all other causes, for the benefit, and good of the good, and punishment of the bad.⁵⁴

To be the sword arm of the church was an important role, as magistrates assisted James in the enforcement of proper religion, and naturally have some increment of power. In establishing justice and discipline, the king was at the heart not only of legal precedent, but as the father of the commonwealth he was the center of England itself. Given the patriarchal culture of the time people were bound to obey the king as they would obey their own father. John Thornborough, an English bishop, argued religion let subjects “participate, in the common Obedience, transferred unto all, under the Government of one.”⁵⁵ With James as the unifying force and the head of the church, those such as John Fenton, an English author, argued James could defeat the powers of the papacy declaring, “For all the hopes which Papistry is expected,/OR else the triumphs to revenge erected,/Roister and murderers are clear put down:/Despairing, when they hear James

⁵³ McIllwain, *Political Works*, p. 68. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 21.

⁵⁴ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 76.

⁵⁵ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 76.

wears the Crown.”⁵⁶ In his work *Basilicon Doron*, James argued for the divine right of kings through the theory of contract by subjection, “the obedience of the people who renounce all their privileges by virtue of their will to consent, the king’s judicial power, and God’s judicial power.”⁵⁷ The combined power of the king’s and God’s judicial power was inherent within this type of required obedience.

James’s Views on Obedience

In *Basilicon Doron* James stipulated religion originated in, “the plain words of the Scripture without the which all points of Religion are superfluous, as anything contrary to the same is abomination.”⁵⁸ In departing from Scripture, not only would people turn their backs on their sovereign lord, but also on God. James gives advice to his son on the proper manner reform should happen, portraying it as contrary to the Reformation in Scotland as “many things were inordinately done by popular tumult and rebellion”, and the reformation there lacked a “Princes order.”⁵⁹ In giving advice to his son, he called upon the prince to be:

A loving nourish-father to the Church, seeing all the Churches within your dominions planted with good Pastors, the Schools (the seminary of the Church) maintained, the doctrine and discipline preserved in purity, according to Gods word, a sufficient poison for the sustentation, a comely order in their policy, pride punished, humility advanced, and they so to reverence their superiors, and their flocks them, as the flourishing of your Church in piety, peace, and learning, may be one of the chief points of your earthly glory.⁶⁰

The duty of the king was to provide not only strong secular rulership, but give wise and just counsel regarding religion, providing the perfect marriage between the political and the religious power of the church. The punishment of pride and maintenance of obedience portrays James’s

⁵⁶ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 76.

⁵⁷ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 178.

⁵⁸ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 25.

⁵⁹ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 25.

⁶⁰ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 25.

focus on the proper ordering of society, as there should be ‘reverence’ to ‘superiors’, and it was the job of these superiors to nourish and nurture the flocks beneath them. The planting of good pastors and good schools ensured the continuance of religious education in England, showing again James’s emphasis on the importance of the written word and access to knowledge. Earthly glory meant continuation into heavenly glory, and because of the connection James drew between his kingdom on earth and God’s kingdom in heaven, it was important both were holy and gave glory to God. With this education, the flock should willingly follow their leader, bringing glory on earth.

Despite the divine origins of his power James acknowledged he was subject to certain limitations regarding his prerogative:

Not that I deny the old definition of a King, and of a law; which makes the king to be a speaking law, and the Law a dumb king: for certainly a king that governs not by his law, can neither be countable to God for his administration, nor have a happy and established reign [...] As likewise, although I have said, a good king will frame all his actions to be according to the Law; yet is he not bound thereto but of his good will, and for example-giving to his subjects.⁶¹

Here James digs deeper into the nature of a good king, arguing a king who rules without law was not truly held accountable to God, and would not have a happy reign. Rather a good king followed the law, and was not bound by his mere good will, but was an example for his subjects to look to and imitate. His subjects were lucky for his ability to rule well and bring peace to the kingdom, as this was an important responsibility he vowed to take seriously.

As James was the head of society and person leading his subjects to emulate earthly glory, he continuously emphasized his role as monarch, and how he could best lead those in England and Scotland. In his *Meditation upon the Lords Prayer* James declared:

⁶¹ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 178.

I know not by what fortune, the diction of PACIFICUS was added to my title at my coming in England; that of the Lyon, expressing true fortitude, having benne my diction before; but I am not ashamed of this addition; for King Salomon was a figure of CHRIST in that, that he was king of peace. The greatest gift that our Savior gave his Apostles, immediately before his Ascension, was, that he left his Peace, with them.⁶²

In this James articulates his Christian view of kingship in which he, like Jesus, was put through various tests.⁶³ The crown bestowed upon the king was given “by his people to remind them that he reigns with their love and consent”, and the public nature of the coronation oath meant it was publicly acknowledged that the kings subjects were expected to be obedient.⁶⁴ Christ’s crown of thorns represented “the stinging cares of Kings” and “the anxious and intricate cares of Kings who...must even expect to meet with a number of cross and intricate difficulties.”⁶⁵ James saw similarities between his role as a king and difficulties Jesus faced, as James argued he suffered similar tribulations and was charged with momentous responsibilities. This imperial view of kingship vested James with responsibility to both God and his people, as he was duty bound to both.

James’s essay *Of a Kings Christian Duty Towards God* (1598) is addressed to his heir, whom he instructs, “first of all things, learn to know and love that god, whom-to ye have a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on this Throne, and rule over other men.”⁶⁶ As the ruler of men, he had supreme power, as it was both his right and duty to execute his will for the sake of his people.

Remember then, that this glistening worldly glory of Kings, is given them by God, to teach them to please so to glister and shine before their people, in all works of sanctification and righteousness, that their persons as bright lamps of godliness and virtue, may, going in and out before their people, give light to all

⁶² Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 340.

⁶³ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 341.

⁶⁴ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 341.

⁶⁵ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 341.

⁶⁶ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 211.

their steps. Remember also, that by the right knowledge, and fear of God (which is *the beginning of Wisdom*, as *Salomon* said), ye shall know all the things necessary for the discharge of your duty, both as a Christian, and as a King; seeing in him, as in a mirror, the course of all earthly things, whereof he is the spring and only mover.⁶⁷

One of the king's sacred duties was to ensure his subjects were educated and feared God, as he had a duty both as a Christian and king to provide this type of support and service. The glory of kings was a gift bestowed by God, as they were meant to 'shine before their people', providing them with inspiration to lead a godly life. The right type of knowledge here is both Protestant and one with the kings blessing and approval. Service to God was a critical aspect of rulership and James advised his son, "I would not have you to pray with the Papists, to be preserved from sudden death, but that God would give you grace so to live, as ye may every hour of your life be ready for death."⁶⁸

James's speech in the Star Chamber in 1616, articulated again his views on the nature of monarchy and the origins of his sovereignty. He said, "That which concerns the mystery of the Kings power, is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weaknesses of Princes, and to take away the mystical reverence, that belongs unto them that fit in the Throne of God."⁶⁹ He further argued, "It is the Kings Office to protect and fettle the true interpretation of the law of God within his Dominions", as kings were to "imitate God and his Christ, in being just and righteous; *David* and *Salomon*, in being godly and wife."⁷⁰ As James was to interpret the law of God, this encompassed ecclesiastical doctrine, as the role of the monarch was meant as an "imitation of GOD and CHRIST."⁷¹ James faced difficulty with the interpretation of God's will

⁶⁷ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 211.

⁶⁸ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 211.

⁶⁹ King James, *His Majesties Speech in the Star-Chamber*, The xx of June, Anno 1616. Imprinted by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, D2.

⁷⁰ King James, *His Majesties Speech in the Star-Chamber*, A5.

⁷¹ King James, *His Majesties Speech in the Star-Chamber*, A4.

upon the outbreak of the Thirty Year's War, when hope abounded for England becoming a savior to Protestants facing troubles overseas.

Royal Wedding and 30 Years War

The marriage between Elizabeth, James's daughter, and the Calvinist Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate, was done at a time of increasing tensions in Europe. It boosted hopes of pro-Protestant English for intervention in religious conflicts overseas.⁷² 1610 saw the assassination of Catholic King Henri IV of France, who previously had been Protestant but converted upon his accession, adding to the panic about continental events and what England's role should be. James's heir at the time, Prince Henry, gave support to writers and essayists such as George Chapman, Michael Drayton and Joshua Sylvester, who all argued for military action overseas and expansion of English power abroad. A certain Elizabethan nostalgia was present in these writings, bringing with it militaristic elements of Protestantism.⁷³ At the wedding celebration various tropes focused on Protestant might and public display of Protestant power.⁷⁴ Two battles depicted over the course of two days included the Battle of Lepanto, a 1571 battle between Christians and Turks, as well as the infamous 1588 Armada. There were correlations between the uptick in Puritanism at home and hatred towards Catholics due to events on the continent. The peace with Spain in 1604 and truce between the Spanish and Dutch in 1609 was hurt by events such as the Gunpowder Plot, Henri IV's, assassination, and the Thirty Years War in 1618. The renewal of the Spanish-Dutch fighting ramped up Elizabethan nostalgia with an increased push for military intervention.

⁷² Kevin Curran, 'James I and fictional authority at the Palatine wedding celebrations', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (February 2006), pp. 51-52.

⁷³ Curran, 'James I and fictional authority at the Palatine wedding celebrations', 52.

⁷⁴ Curran, 'James I and fictional authority at the Palatine wedding celebrations', 55.

The Thirty Years War was an important flashpoint in religion and identity in England, not only because of England's involvement in the war, but what it was perceived as: a battle between Protestantism and Catholicism, i.e. the forces of good and evil respectively. Archbishop Abbot viewed this war and other religious wars as a struggle between Protestantism, and forces of evil, i.e. the papacy, who represented the Antichrist. Since James's daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederick, it seemed England was divinely chosen to assist the Protestant cause and fight alongside its Protestant companions to stop Catholic forces.⁷⁵ James disagreed with the apocalyptic interpretation of events, believing while his daughter was in the line of fire, there was not a strong enough reason for England to be involved on the level demanded by many in James's court. James believed his role was easing tensions between the two confessions. This was to be done predominately through marital diplomacy, as he proposed a match between his son Charles and a Spanish princess. James went as far to write the pope, attempting to foster peace.⁷⁶

In February 1621, the Spanish ambassador sent a report home noting James's alarm over the number of 'Puritan' publications circulating against him and the match, as James believed these challenged his kingly power. This backlash only added to James's long held fears of the dangers of Puritanism and threat it posed to the crown's power. James issued *The King's Direction Against Preachers* in August 1622 due to attacks against Catholics delivered from pulpits. A Proclamation in September 1623 brought back the 1586 Star Chamber decree against unlicensed preaching to address the problem of inflammatory materials making their way into print.⁷⁷ While James might not have necessarily disagreed with some of the things said, to

⁷⁵ Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', 198.

⁷⁶ Doelman, 'King James I and the Religious Culture of England', 198.

⁷⁷ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603, 1688*, 115.

proclaim such a strong anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic message went against his attempts to marry his son to a Spanish princess. The vocal outcry resulting from this openly questioned his foreign policy choices and therefore his sovereignty, something James could not abide.

Part of the backlash James faced for these policies founds its origin in the opening years of his English reign, when in 1604 Sir James Lindsay, an Scottish courtier, carried a message from James to the pope where he addressed him as “the sovereign pontiff first among bishops”, recognizing the Roman church was the original church, and calling for a council to discuss reform ideas.⁷⁸ While this was most likely a peacekeeping mechanism and attempt to avoid ruffling too many feathers, some regarded this as suspiciously Catholic. In 1605, a Spanish document by the Jesuit Richard Haller discussed James’s and Spanish opinions on religion entitled *Discourse on the desire which the king of England is said to have to conform to the Catholic Church by means of a Council*.⁷⁹ Included in this talk was the Spanish hope to end war with the Netherlands, and plans for Prince Henry to marry the Infanta. Some of the concerns about this marriage related to fear of Henry’s heir being raised Catholic, creating a religious divide in England.

Political imagination conjured fear of civil conflict due to confessional differences, as these types of religious conflicts threatened peace in England.⁸⁰ Political power in Europe was subject to additional scrutiny due to religious differences, as the past was reexamined thoroughly by theologians, arguing over doctrine. Richard Hooker penned *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*,

⁷⁸ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological-Political Origins of the Modern State*, 105.

⁷⁹ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological-Political Origins of the Modern State*, 107.

⁸⁰ Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585-1685* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pg. 41-42.

looking to England's past and the present Church of England. He argues the church was united by "the outward profession of faith by its members" and continues:⁸¹

The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord* whose servants they all profess themselves, that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism* wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things, which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man.⁸²

This type of visible unity was important to James, as it shows the established peace and settlement in the realm he so desired, and this type of unity was important for the populace as they had groundwork laid for them on what their identity and place in the world was in the chaos of the seventeenth century.

Iconography and Representation

James's iconography was dependent upon public acts such as sermons and commemoration, and his formation of religious policy upon his entry into the realm. The Millenary Petition was presented to James upon his arrival, with clergy expressing a desire for religious reform to address problems in the English church. In May 1603, the Stationers' Company registered most of their works on James's accession, printing his writings for public consumption. The public written word was not just a tool James preferred, it was at the heart of Protestantism, as the Bible was the means to understanding the true will of God. James's iconography drew upon previously developed tropes based on the Bible, imperial ideas, and British traditions and history. Andrew Willet proclaimed there was "a great hope that our own peaceable Solomon and princely Ecclesiastes will bring unto this land a general peace and

⁸¹ Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 32.

⁸² Bourdin and Pickford, *The Theological Political Origins of the Modern State*, 33.

quietness both at home and abroad.”⁸³ James told his son “for there will ye see yourself as a mirror, in the Catalogue either of the good or the evil kings.”⁸⁴ This is a reference of the good kings of the Bible, who James saw himself as emulating.

Constantine

The idea of a godly prince connected to James’s representation as Constantine, for Constantine was the son of a British mother, Helena. With James as ruler of both England and Scotland he too was a son born of Britain itself. The image of a godly prince was consistently promoted in literature, seen in John Napier’s work, a Scottish biblical commentator, in the early 1580s. During his reign James was referred to as “nutritius”, or the ‘nursing father’ of the church, a notion further reinforced by those such as Richard Eedes in *Six Learned and Godly Sermons* (1604) who said “princes too bee nurses of the church”, along with John King’s *A Sermon at Paules Crosse* (1620).⁸⁵ These examples of a ruler’s role in religious life came from the medieval church, early church history, and the Bible.⁸⁶ These monarchical traditions are seen in the reigns of David and Solomon in the Bible, and found frequent reference in court sermons.

George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered a funeral sermon for Thomas, Earl of Dorset, the High Treasurer of England, highlighting his accomplishments by focusing on his service to the monarch as, “*To please such Princes as these, is a very great commendation [...]* And never was there any Noble man...with more feeling and affectionate gratefulness did

⁸³ Rowlands, *Ave Caesar*, sig. Bii, Willet, *Ecclesia Triumphans*, p. 104. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 116.

⁸⁴ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 75.

⁸⁵ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 7.

⁸⁶ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 7.

entertain the favors of his Sovereigns than this honorable person did.”⁸⁷ To carry out the kings will would bring further triumph to the English church, as James was a new Constantine, bringing true religion to England.

Joseph Hall, an English bishop, delivered *A Holy Panegyrick* (1613), a sermon, arguing under James the English church was triumphant, further comparing James to Constantine:

Hath trod in the steps of that blessed Constantine, in all his religious proceedings...Constantine caused fifty volumes of the scriptures to be faire written out on parchment, for the use of the Church. King James hath caused the Book of the Scriptures to be translated and published by thousands. [...] King James besides his powerful proclamations and sovereign laws hath effectually written against Popery. Constantine took away the liberty of the meetings of Heretics: King James hath by wholesome laws inhibited the assemblies of Papists and Schismatics. Constantine sate in the midst of Bishops, as if he had been one of them, King James besides his solemn conferences, vouchsafes to spend his meals in discourse with his Bishops and other worldly Divines.⁸⁸

Through his laws and writings, Hall portrays James as ridding the power of the papacy from England and Scotland because of his literary eloquence. He praises James’s acumen and penchant for religious writings, seeing him on par with theologians and bishops. While biased, this allows a window into how James viewed himself and how he wished to be remembered. There was generally an increase in political sermons during James’s reign and frequent printing, making them public acts to be consumed by the populace.

Richard Crankanthorp, an English clergyman, wrote *The Defense of Constantine* (1621), addressed to James, focusing on the similarities between James and Constantine:

Both descended of most Princely Progenitors: Both borne and bred in this most happy Island: Both Inheritors and Possessors of the Imperial Crowne of great Brittain: Both by treacheries of malignant enemies to the Gospel, first in *tender* (a) *years*, then in *riper* (b) *age*, most dangerously assaulted: Both by Gods only hand, (c) most graciously (and your Majesty even miraculously) delivered and

⁸⁷ George Abbot, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster Mau 26 1608, at The funeral Solemnities of the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Dorset, late High Treasurer of England*, London, Printed by Mechifedech Bradwood for William Aspley, 1608, 10-13.

⁸⁸ Parry, *The Golden Age Restor’d*, 234.

preferred for those most happy works, which by your sacred persons he would effect: Both richly beautified with *Prudence, Justice, Clemency, Magnanimity*, & all other *Ornaments* of Regal Majesty.⁸⁹

The dangers James and Constantine faced prior to reaching the throne is like the persecution of the early Christians, but both proved their places as ‘Gods only hand’. The imagery of Constantine and of David alike was violent, as Constantine was argued to be “like *David*, a King of War, and by the sword of battel subdued the pride and rage of persecuting Tyrants and so with the borders of his Empire, enlarged the profession of Christ.”⁹⁰

While this warrior imagery served its purpose, as it rid the country of those who fought against true religion, it did not fit within James’s image as Solomon, acknowledged later in Crankanthorp’s work. Instead James was:

Like *Salomon*, a King of Peace, by that depth of divine and unexpressable knowledge and wisdom, wherewith the God of Heaven hath filled your sacred breast, with the Sword of Gods Spirit, subduing the Pride, Idolatries, and Impieties of that *Man of Sin*, hath made glorious the true faith of Christ, not only in, and beyond the bounds of your own, and the Roman Empire, but from Great Brittain, even to the utmost borders of the Earth.⁹¹

Like Constantine, James was willing to use militant means to enforce true religion in his country, but preferred peaceful means to enforce religious conformity. James’s mission of peace is shown here as equally effective to the warlike methods which Constantine and David used, and while James drew imagery from these figures as well, it was his presentation as Solomon which was most prominent.

⁸⁹ Richard Crankanthorp, *The Defense of Constantine: With a Treatise of the Popes temporal Monarchy, Wherein, besides divers passages, touching other Counsels, both General and Provincial, the fecund Roman Synod, under Silvester, is declared to be a mere Fiction and Forgery*, Printer by Bernard Alsop for John Teage, 1621, A3.

⁹⁰ Crankanthorp, *The Defense of Constantine*, A6.

⁹¹ Crankanthorp, *The Defense of Constantine*, A6.

Solomon

As a Solomonic figure James represented learning and peace, a restoration of the Temple, and the creator of literature and poetry. When James was fourteen years old in 1579 a pageant was held for him on the Judgment of Solomon, so this type of iconography was seen early in his life and was not an invention for the English throne, rather one he cultivated for some time.⁹² When he argued for the union of Scotland and England, he reminded his subjects Solomon ruled over the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel, as he would rule over Scotland in the north and England in the south.

Francis Bacon referenced Solomonic tropes in *Advancement of Learning* (1597), dedicated to James, claiming “there hath not been since Christ’s time any king or temporal monarch, which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human.”⁹³ Bacon viewed Solomon as a natural philosopher, and as James wished to emulate him, he too should support literature, arts and theology. Solomon is credited with authoring the Wisdom Books in the Bible, and with James printing many of his own works this comparison naturally made sense.⁹⁴ John Bishop praised James, saying his work showed “the colors of life and grace are in his lips, where *spectrum* & *plectrum*, authority and eloquence will kiss each other.”⁹⁵ Henry Farley described James as, “For Proverbs to his son he did declare, Then next a preachers part he did not spare, The third his song of songs most sure shall be, That shall set forth His Kingly love to me.”⁹⁶

⁹² Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 77.

⁹³ Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, 13.

⁹⁴ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 78. The Wisdom Books include Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Job, Book of Wisdom and Sirach.

⁹⁵ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 78.

⁹⁶ Doelman, ‘King James I and the Religious Culture of England’, 78.

John Carpenter, an English author, dedicated his work on Solomon, *Schelomonocham, or King Solomon his Solace* (1606), to James. In his dedication, Carpenter acknowledged James's undoubted right to the English throne following Elizabeth's death, "which she said should in right descend and come to King James then of Scotland; her natural and lawful successor, and the most worthy."⁹⁷ Carpenter affirms the joy the upon James's accession to the throne, as he was "a most Christian Governor", who honored God through his rule.⁹⁸ Carpenter argues James emulated the same holiness as Solomon, and in his wisdom purified religion in England.

Andrew Willet, an English poet, added to the image of James as a Solomonic and David-like figure, in a tract portraying James's fight for unity and peace, "Wherefore masters, fathers, and governors should rather seek by their Godly care to win unto God, that belong unto Him then pull them by their negligence from God, for whom they are accomptable."⁹⁹ He saw James as the embodiment of a Christian prince saying:

A virtuous king then is a most excellent means to draw people distracted in opinions and sects, to one true worship of God; they that live in one kingdom, should have one Christendom, be all of one faith and religion: as they obey one King in earth, so they should adore one God in heaven: and as they are subject to one law for civil administration, so they should walk after one rule, concerning their Christian profession [...] We see then, what an excellent benefit it is, when the Lord giveth unto a nation settled and established government.¹⁰⁰

The need for peace and insistence upon his place as peacemaker shows James's dedication to his image as Solomon and *Rex Pacificus*, as he wished to spread true religion. He would save the souls of those across Europe instead of limiting himself to his subjects. An established

⁹⁷ John Carpenter, *Schelomonocham, or King Solomon his Solace. Containing (among many things of right worthy request) King Solomon his Polity, his true Repentance, and finally his Salvation. First Presented to the Kings most excellent Majesty and afterward published.* London, Imprinted by John Winds, 1606, A2.

⁹⁸ Carpenter, *Schelomonocham*, A2.

⁹⁹ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 77.

¹⁰⁰ Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church*, 77-79.

government and a calm nation were both good things, as people could live peaceably and productively, focusing on their work and expanding their religious knowledge rather than continuous discord amongst the population.

Conclusion

While James's image as Solomon and Constantine was occasionally challenged and he received backlash for certain religious policies and his attempted union, he was successful in most of his endeavors. As Head of the Church of England, all of James's actions in the public sphere as they related to religion consisted as a representational performance. His intent listening to sermons, processions to and from the royal chapel, publication of his own theological musings and attendance to the physical needs of the church speaks to how seriously he regarded religious observance. Court sermons provide insight into the construction of kingly majesty, and particularly the continued use of Solomonic tropes and references to James as *Rex Pacificus* speak to James's preferred political representations. These tropes occasionally went against popular and courtly opinion, as there was an increased push to assist Protestants abroad.

James's insistent and continued defense of his prerogative, the importance of obedience, and his divine mission and right to rule indicates he felt the need to continuously articulate what these were. James's well-articulated view of himself and his kingship paints a picture of what type of man he saw himself as, and how he thought he could best serve and rule the English. In further chapters the international dynamics and apocalyptic mind frame present on the continent because of the Thirty Year's War will be explained, as this assists in understanding international concerns and developing Protestant consciousness.

This Solomonic notion found a multitude of cultural expressions, as it went hand in hand with another of his favored representations, of *Rex Pacificus*, a man who would be the true

peacekeeper of Europe. Challenges to his representation as *Rex Pacificus*, and backlash to his conceptions of monarchical power are indicative not only of how James conceived of his role as sovereign, but the response he received shows us the changing nature of Parliament's view of what their role was in government. While the arguments between James and Parliament on his prerogative took place on the highest level, these seeped into popular discussion, thus impacting views of James and indicated how the English wished for their sovereign to rule, and their viewpoints on his presentation on *Rex Pacificus*. While his peacekeeping tendencies were at times respected, the memory and idea of Elizabeth as a Protestant warrior and an idealized queen were hard to shake off, making James's assertive declaration of his powers somewhat controversial.

Chapter 4. *Rex Pacificus* and the Establishment of Power

God gave not Kings the stile of *Gods* in vain,/For on his Throne his Scepter doe they sway:/And as their subjects ought them to obey,/So Kings should fear and serve their god again:/If then ye would enjoy a happy reign,/Observe the Statutes of your heavenly King,/And from his Law, make all your Lawes to spring:/Since his Lieutenant here ye should remain,/Reward the just, be steadfast, true, and plain,/Repress the proud, maintaining aye the right,/Walk always so, as ever in his sight,/Who guards the godly, plaguing the prophane:/And so ye shall in Princely virtues shine,/Resembling right your mighty King Divine.¹

--James I
Basilicon Doron

James's most famous works, *Basilicon Doron* and *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, provide a clear expression of his view of the divine right of kingship, arguing God was the origin of kingly power. His well-articulated views of his own power and his stylized representation of *Rex Pacificus* need to be put in the context of how his nobles and the populace viewed the monarchs' power, and responses to this image. This chapter interweaves James's pictorial representations, his views on providence, his conception of his power and public representation of this power, done predominantly through literature. The previous chapter explored James's public presentation at its best, as a defender of Protestantism, Constantine, Solomon and David. He ensured the continuation of Protestantism in England, following traditions established under Elizabeth as he embarked upon his new role as head of the Church of England. In this chapter, his representation is put to the test, as his imagery of *Rex Pacificus* was increasingly under fire after 1618. He and Parliament disagreed on the nature of his prerogative, and this battle is critical in understanding the changing nature of English views on what the monarch's role was at the highest levels. Parliament was a representation and extension of the people, and while some of these battles were fought away from the public eye, they are important to understand James's

¹ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 200.

public representation and how the response to it was indicative of English identity and popular consciousness. His intense focus on defining his prerogative came not only from his time in Scotland, but troubles he grappled with upon his ascension in England. English politics, religion, and identity allow further insight into how James dealt with the rising power of Parliament and increasing questioning of his prerogative, and how this related to how the English people viewed their king.

James quoted the Bible as source material and proof of the king's role as God's lieutenant on earth, and expressed his belief that Parliament only had power because the king granted it power, and that it was ultimately at his mercy. James's view of kingship is well articulated and critical in understanding his conceptualization of his role as king of both England and Scotland. His prolific writing was an extension of his rule, as there was increased authority in and access to the written word, authority through the Protestant emphasis on reading texts and access through the availability of materials via the printing press. The break from Rome invested the English monarch with new powers, but with this development came desacralization of monarchy, as their image, likeness and policies were open to public consumption, making them more available to criticism and critique. Though the English monarch was Head of the Church of England, this power was made available via Parliamentary assistance. Regality was conveyed in numerous ways, through production of images and printing the monarchs' word, James's preferred tactic. James's dislike of sitting for portraits mean there are few images of his likeness, but he did forcefully affirm his authority through literature. James made his will known through proclamations, as these were made available in print and were read aloud, making his words

accessible to his subjects.² James presented himself as a learned, highly articulate king, focused on rulership and his self-presentation as *Rex Pacificus*. The image of *Rex Pacificus*, while valuable at times, was not necessarily reflective of the Protestant champion so wished for. James's fierce defense of his prerogative and constant need to define what this was shows us he felt a need to define his role, not only for his ego but because of challenges to his power.

News Culture and Public Representation of the Monarch

With the advent of news culture, monarchs were given an invaluable propaganda tool, where their words and messages were easily dispersed throughout the kingdom. News cut both ways as it allowed for the circulation of libel verses, commentary on foreign and domestic decisions, and was a vehicle to criticize the monarch and state. During times of crisis or high tension, the court was portrayed as a center of corruption, failing to uphold the virtues of the country.³ Print was also an important mechanization for artists to express their patriotism and pride in England, as they commented on what they wished to see from their king and government. In a time of confessional divide, and later confessional warfare on the continent, there was continuous news regarding religious happenings, and often strong opinions by Parliament and political commentators accompanied these updates. While London was the hub of news in England, pamphlets and other materials were easily circulated, and were read aloud in common public places, allowing for communication to the farther reaches of England.⁴ Trial reports, verse libel, poetry and manuscripts easily made their way into the hands of the populace,

² Margaret J.M. Ezell, 'The Times Displayed: Late Seventeenth-Century English Commemorative Broadsheets and Media Hybridity', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 45, The History of the Book (2015), 14-19.

³ Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair 1603-1660*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5-12.

⁴ Dahl Folke, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620-1642* (London, 1952), 152.

and there was a prominent industry of letter writing assisting in communication across vast geographical territories.⁵

The increasing public representation of the monarch and solidification of English identity left certain expectations tied to the English ruler. James grappled with Elizabeth's legacy as she presented herself as a public object to be gazed upon, whereas James was more comfortable with writing exhortations and bits of wisdom to his subjects. He preferred written forms of public expression and as a manner to express his style, fancying himself a theologian and an outstanding Protestant. His favored form of representation worked well in the burgeoning print industry, as the cultural fabric of England relied increasingly on messages transmitted through the written word. These cultural expressions during the Stuart era are critical to understanding the exercise of power under James, as these popular venues of print media and newspapers allowed for ideas to seep into the popular imagination, informing and shaping English identity and patriotism.

The creation of an ideology focusing on the uniqueness of the English people under the Tudors and the Stuarts was influenced by the growth of state power, centralization of government, and the monarch as a reflection of what subjects wished to see in their sovereign. The state was considered dynastic as it was tied to the monarch, but other identity focal points grew increasingly important. Elizabeth successfully built a myth around herself, a type of secular cult supporting English Protestant foreign policy against continental Catholicism. Thomas Dekker's essay, *Old Fortunatus*, reflected the manner Elizabeth was viewed, "Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza? Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling. Some call her Pandora, some Gloriana, some Cynthia, some Belphebe, some Astraea: all by several names

⁵ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England*, 100-117.

to express several loves...I am of her own country and we adore her by the name of Eliza.”⁶ The international Protestant cause and legacy of the Elizabethan cult was important for the growth of identity and belief in the providential role of England in God’s design. Localism was present amongst communities, however there was a decline in xenophobia by the time James came to the throne. This is perhaps due to the growth of empire during his reign as the world conceptually was becoming larger, as exploration to new continents increased the influence of and access to the outside world. Comparisons to other peoples in other nations solidified who the English saw themselves as, as they formed a sense of collective identity. The monarch was inherently interwoven within this identity, and conceptualization of their power is important to understand the mindset with which the English approached the world. To interpret the cross section between religion, politics, and what it meant to be an English monarch, we must first understand conceptions of obedience, as this was at the core of monarchical power. There were challenges to obedience, as the monarch grew steadily in power over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth century but the power of Parliament grew alongside them, both because of the course of the English Reformations and the changing political landscape.

Obedience

Sir Thomas Smith’s *De Republica Anglorum* (1565), an exhortation on government, focused on the prominence of Parliament and its necessity in governance, “The most high and absolute power of the realm of Englande, consisteth in the Parliament.”⁷ Richard Hooker argued a well-ordered society was necessary, or else there would be descent into chaos:

Without order there is no living in public society, because the want thereof is the mother of confusion, whereupon division of necessity followeth, and out of

⁶ Stuart Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 312.

⁷ Robert Eccleshall, *Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 119.

division, inevitable destruction...Order can give no place in things, unless it be settled amongst persons that shall by office be conversant about them. And if things or persons be ordered, this doth imply that they are distinguished by degrees. For order is a gradual disposition.⁸

He discusses order in society, not just as it related to the political life of the people of England, but to religious politics. Much of Hooker's work is on religion, but in a country where religion was naturally infused with the monarch, order in all aspects of society was critical. The fear of descent into chaos is further reflected in Robert Bolton's work, "Government is the prop and pillar of all State and Kingdoms, the cement and soul of humane affaires, the life of society and order, the very vital spirit whereby so many millions of men doe breathe the life and comfort of peace: and the whole nature of things subsist."⁹ Thus, the necessity of a well-ordered society was not a groundbreaking idea, but there was a continuous outpouring of works on the necessity of a well-ordered realm, as conceptions of monarchical authority continued to be contested.

Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor*, a work dedicated to Henry VIII on how diplomats and other servants of the state should behave, explores the nature of imperial kingship, and ruler as having two states, "one by nature common with other men, the other by election private and from the people expected. In the first we be resembled to be beasts, for the affections and passions, wherein we communicate with them. In the other we be like unto gods immortal, in supreme dignity excelling all other men."¹⁰ The idea of monarchs having two bodies was deeply ingrained in English political thought, and the necessity of a strong kingship in order to maintain order was firmly reiterated. The tie between the monarch and their subjects was influenced from the ideology of the Protestant Reformations, spawning apocalyptic thought and

⁸ Eccleshall, *Order and Reason in Politics*, 138.

⁹ J. P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603-1640* (London and New York Longman, 1986), 17.

¹⁰ Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I; Queen and Commonwealth 1558-1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 72.

reforming concepts of citizenship as it generated a type of civic consciousness.¹¹ This apocalyptic spirituality made the enforcement of Protestantism even more critical, and as the monarch was the head of the Church of England, they played a critical in enforcing doctrinal uniformity. Culture focused on publicizing court politics, which operated alongside the public nature of the monarchy. These rituals were important in the perception of the monarch and how English subjects interacted with their sovereign.

In *True Law*, James contends there was a bond of mutual duty and allegiance between the monarch and his people, as the people were bound to obey kingly law, as these expectations were set down in Scripture. He cites kings being called gods by King David, and sitting upon the throne on earth as a representative of God, and are answerable only to him. Kings must maintain control of their subjects and care for them like a father. In *True Law*, James laid down his views on the “mutual duty, and allegiance betwixt a free and absolute *Monarch* and his people.”¹² He articulates his expectations in his commentary on the coronation oath:

To maintain all the lovable and good Lawes made by their predecessors: to see them put in execution, and the breakers and violators thereof, to be punished, according to the tenor of the same: And lastly, to maintain the whole country, and every state therein in all their ancient Privileges and Liberties, as well against all foreign enemies, as among themselves...by the Law of Nature the King becomes a natural Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education and virtuous government of his children; even so is the king bound to care for all his subjects.¹³

Maintaining previous laws meant continuing peace and stability in the country, as those who would bring civil discord to the realm were punished. As the father of his people, it was James's natural right to provide this protection to his subjects. In caring for the education and nourishment of his subjects he refers not just to their literal physical nourishment, but their

¹¹ McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, 89.

¹² Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 259.

¹³ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 262.

spiritual nourishment. He further quotes from God's orders to Samuel on the duties of kings, "The one, to grant the people their suit in giving them a king; the other, to forewarn them, what some kings will do unto them, that they may not thereafter in their grudging and murmuring say."¹⁴ In quoting Scripture James portrays himself as God's arm, and his subjects owed allegiance to him as their "native king, out of the fundamental and civil Law, especially of this country."¹⁵ Here he hits on the importance not just on following the king's rule generally, but role of common law in England, and king's role in this framework.

James conceived of the power of kings as near the supreme power of God, and asserted his power could not "be disputed upon", but he would "ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws."¹⁶ James's views on Parliament are reflected in advice to his son Henry, "hold no Parliaments, but for necessity of new Lawes, which would be but seldom; for few Lawes and well put into execution, are best in a well ruled common-weale."¹⁷ In his speech 1610 to Parliament he further argued:

The power of kings within this axiom of Divinity, that as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, but *quid vult Deus*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss, for to dispute *a posse ad esse* is both against logic and divinity; so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do at the height of his power, and just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God.¹⁸

While James's viewpoints of kingship were not uncommon, he produced an unusually clear and firm description of his conception of his power. James granted, "in the time of the first age, divers common-wealths & societies of men chose out one among themselves, who for his virtues & valor" made the ruler, but insisted that "these examples are nothing pertinent to vs; because

¹⁴ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 264.

¹⁵ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 268.

¹⁶ Wootton, (ed.), *Divine Right and Democracy*. 109.

¹⁷ Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, 25.

¹⁸ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688*, 13.

our kingdom, and divers other Monarchies are not in that case, but had their beginning in a far contrary fashion.”¹⁹

In the same speech he insisted, “we are to distinguish between the state of Kings in their first original, and between the state of settled Kings and Monarchs, that doe at this time govern in civil Kingdoms.”²⁰ James further made a distinction between ‘a Kings power in *Abstracto*’ and his powers “in a settled state of a Kingdom which was governed by his own fundamental Lawes and Orders.”²¹ This godlike power he attributed to kings, and imperial kingship provided valuable imagery for him, and was useful in his previous and continuing management of the Scottish kirk. Imperial kingship was supported in the Bible, law, and history. The Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and The Act of Supremacy (1534) gave authority to the concept of imperial kingship in England:

Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire...governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same...furnished by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole and entire power...kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England.²²

James combined this *imperium* with his previously articulated imperial kingship to negotiate his authority. Later in his reign he contended with increasingly well-articulated arguments for the authority of Parliament. This pendulum swung back and forth, with James at times thanking Parliament for their glorious place as a representation of the kingdom, and other times he was increasingly frustrated with their lack of willingness to follow his lead.

¹⁹ J.H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 236.

²⁰ Burns, *The True Law of Kingship*, 276.

²¹ Burns, *The True Law of Kingship*, 308.

²² Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 43-44.

James's Views on Kingly Authority

In 1614 following the frustrations of the Addled Parliament James told the Spanish ambassador, "I am surprised that my ancestors should ever have allowed such an institution to come into existence."²³ But he had a quite different reaction in 1605 after the Gunpowder Plot when he told Parliament had he died alongside them, "Mine end should have been with the most honorable and best company, and in that most honorable and fittest place for a king to be in, for doing the turns most proper in his office."²⁴ In April 1610 the Commons examined the legality of impositions James imposed, and he argued he could not allow Parliament to debate his prerogative, especially as the high court affirmed his power in Bates's Case.²⁵ During this debate Francis Bacon examined previous precedents, arguing Elizabeth stopped debates if they touched her prerogative, and on May 23rd he submitted a petition saying the scrutinizing of prerogative was allowed only if it impacted subjects' liberties. Even after the difficulties of the 1621 Parliament James told the Commons, "the House of Commons at this time have showed greater love, and used me with more respect and when every qualification has been made, his reign closed on a happier note than that on which it began."²⁶ This positive outlook when looking backwards did not reflect the realities James faced during his time in office.

Despite James's show of trust in his government, he lashed out when his authority was questioned, which he did to Parliament early in his reign, pushing them to issue a *Form of Apology and Satisfaction* (1604). The Commons argued there was a misunderstanding, and they were merely defending their ancient rights and privileges, and as the House of Commons they were the ones who held the power of taxation and had the right to comment on religious doctrine

²³ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 14.

²⁴ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 23.

²⁵ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 26.

²⁶ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 30.

in England.²⁷ The 1610 Petition of Right was drawn up by the Commons in response to James's speech to Parliament regarding his right to levy impositions, as the Commons argued for their protection of speech. In this they remonstrate to the king, arguing Parliament had the ancient right to debate any matter concerning the state or subjects of the realm. The Commons asserted their right to articulate their viewpoints saying:

Against which assertions, most gracious Sovereign, tending directly and apparently to the utter overthrow of the very fundamental privileges of our House, and therein of the rights and liberties of the whole commons of your realm of England which they and their ancestors from time immemorable have undoubtedly enjoyed under your Majesty's most noble progenitors, we [...] do expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree of the true dignity, liberty and authority of your Majesty's High Court of Parliament, and consequently to the rights of your Majesty's said subjects and the whole body of this your kingdom; and desire that this protestation may be recorded to all posterity.²⁸

Accusing James of attempting to overthrow their fundamental rights was a provocative statement by the Commons. They made sure to say they were not Puritans and did not want to subvert the state, but did address certain ecclesiastical abuses and argued the King of England did not have absolute power over religion, "We have and shall at times by our oaths acknowledge that your Majesty is Sovereign Lord and Supreme Governor in both."²⁹ They further asserted, "The voice of the people in things of their knowledge is said to be as the voice of God."³⁰ The idea of the king needing to listen and respond to the voice of the people, represented in the Commons, was asserted continuously during James's reign. Parliament's assertion of their own power was to be expected, as they increasingly gained power throughout the course of the sixteenth century, and by the time of James's accession in 1603 saw themselves as kingmakers. The changing role of

²⁷ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 217-230.

²⁸ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688*, 31.

²⁹ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688*, 32.

³⁰ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688*, 34.

Parliament is an important part of English identity, which while it concerned elite level politics, it shows changing attitudes towards representation and the limits of the monarch's power.

The Commons and Prerogative

The Commons Petition on December 9th, 1621, attempted to modify a December 3rd petition regarding the Thirty Years War the king found so repulsive saying, "That notwithstanding your princely and pious endeavors to procure peace, the time is now come that Janus' Temple must be opened."³¹ They wanted James go to war and to convince him they emphasized issues in Europe, "we thought it our duties to provide for the present supply thereof, and not only turn our eyes on a war abroad but to take care for the securing of our peace at home, which the dangerous increase and insolence of Popish recusants apparently, visibly, and sensibly did lead us unto."³² They stated again their ancient rights and privileges of free speech saying:

And whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the ancient liberty of Parliament for freedom of speech [...] a liberty which we assure ourselves such so wise and so just a king will not infringe, the same being our ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance received from our ancestors; without which we cannot freely debate nor clearly discern of things in question before us, nor truly inform your Majesty.³³

Due to the contentious nature of foreign policy, Parliament felt it necessary to provide James advice and feedback on policies he pursued. This required the maintenance of the tradition of the liberty of free speech in Parliamentary debate.

James addressed the Commons attempts to give advice on foreign policy saying:

You presume to give us your advice concerning the match of our dearest son with some Protestant (we cannot say princes, for we know none of these fit for him) and dissuade us from his match with Spain, urging us to a present war with that king; and yet in the conclusion forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our

³¹ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I*, 280.

³² Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 282.

³³ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 283.

most undoubted and regal prerogative, as if the petition of us in matters that yourselves confess ye ought not to meddle with were not a meddling with them.³⁴

That the Commons could not only give advice on the marital diplomacy of his son, but try to urge him against the match with Spain disgusted James. The worry provoked by the Spanish match was not necessarily surprising given the sectarianism of the age. James continuously asserted his special role as England's ruler and England's divine providence, so when there was potential Catholic infiltration this became worrisome. He asserts here Parliament should know better than to meddle with things outside their power. The legacy of Elizabeth's fierce defense over her prerogative typically concerns marital diplomacy, giving James stronger ground to stand on when defending his prerogative. He contradicted the presumption Parliament could give foreign policy advice, as James argued he was the sole arbitrator of foreign policy, and interference with this was an insult to him and his sovereignty.

Despite James's defense of his prerogative, he faced intense criticism for this pro-Spanish policy. In Thomas Middleton's play, *A Game of Chess* (1624) the 'Black House' (Protestant England) prevented loud criticism by suppressing the press, shown here as similar to James's push for legislation against licentious preaching.³⁵ The play details, "Whose policy wasn't to put in silenced muzzle/On all the barking tongue-men of the time,/Made pictures that were dumb enough before/Poor sufferers in that polity restraint?"³⁶ The dangers of press suppression in pursuit of a pro-Spanish policy was a damning accusation against James. Samuel Ward's engraving and inscription, *To God, In Memory of his Double Deliverance* (1605) criticized James's push for a Spanish match given the dangers Spain and Catholicism posed to England. A 1621 print by Samuel Ward articulated the role of providence in English Protestantism and

³⁴ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 284.

³⁵ Carlton, 'The Rhetoric of Providence', 1228.

³⁶ Carlson, 'The Rhetoric of Providence', 1228.

images of the Gunpowder Plot, celebrating England's deliverance from the evils of Catholicism. The tensions created by these pro-Spanish policies put James at odd with Parliament, as James received backlash for his attempted marital negotiations with the Catholic powers. As the 1588 Armada and Gunpowder Plot were part of the glorious history of England's defense against Catholic powers, to then attempt to marry a future King of England to a Catholic was viewed as dangerous and potentially threatening to a lineage of Protestant kings. By the end of the Stuart era, it became an absolute necessity for the monarch to be Protestant, and the groundwork for this is seen here in James's reign.

Addressing both Houses on March 8th, 1624 the Speaker said, "We acknowledge ourselves most bound unto your Majesty that you have been pleased to require the humble advice of us your obedient subjects in a cause so important as this which hitherto dependeth between your Majesty and the King of Spain."³⁷ Parliament presented him with the following advice, "That the treaties, both for the marriage and for the Palatinate, may not any longer be continued with the honor of your Majesty, the safety of your people, the welfare of your children and posterity, as also the assurance of your ancient allies and confederates."³⁸ The king gave his answer on March 8th saying, "For you to remember that in my first speech unto you, for proof of my love to my people, I craved your advice in these great and weighty affairs; but in a matter of this weight I must first consider how this course may agree with my conscience and honor."³⁹ Regarding his children he said, "I am now old, and would be glad, as Moses saw the land of promise from a high mountain (though he had not leave to set his foot on it), so would it be a great comfort to me that god would but so long prolong my days as if I might not see the

³⁷ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 296.

³⁸ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 296.

³⁹ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 296.

restitution to be assured that it would be.”⁴⁰ He further insisted he did not want to “enter into a war without sufficient means to support it were to shew my teeth and do no more”. This shows the practical side of his thinking, as warfare was expensive and took a heavy toll on the population, even if it was fought abroad.

Popular Responses

While it is ultimately difficult to tap into the mentality of the people, we do have evidence of the discontent in the 1620s due to events at court and Spanish actions. An anonymous pamphlet appearing in London taverns accused English courtiers being corrupted by Spanish gold and wished, “Queen Elizabeth were alive again, who...would never have suffered the enemies of her religious to have an unbalanced all Christendom.”⁴¹ This popular expression of discontent over James’s foreign policies shows that Catholicism had no place in English identity, or indeed in England itself. The idea of an unbalanced Christendom where Catholics held immense power was not just a foreign threat, but might be a threat at home, considering there were Catholics active in England. Famous anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish pamphlets produced in England included Thomas Scott’s *Vox Populi* (1620) and *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624).⁴² The threat from the outside was taken seriously, as England fully embraced its Protestant identity.

England represented itself as a bastion against tyrannical Catholicism, willing to use warfare to support the Protestant cause, which was inherently at odds with James’s pacifist ideology. During times of religious warfare, the Elizabethan royal cult was a useful one, as her

⁴⁰ Tanner, *Constitutional Documents in the Reign of James I*, 296.

⁴¹ Anonymous author, *Tom Tell Truth* (1622?), p. 2 quoted in Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 33.

⁴² Both are cited in Christina Marie Carlson’s *The Rhetoric of Providence: Thomas Middleton’s ‘A Game of Chess’ 1624 and Seventeenth Century Political Engraving* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

heroic tropes successfully united people and gave them common cause. Elizabeth and those close to her were skilled at propaganda, furthering this image. She was depicted as an “empress of the seas and guardian of the liberties of foreign peoples.”⁴³ This propaganda promulgated the idea she ushered in “a universal empire in which the peace and justice of the mythical Golden Age would return to earth.”⁴⁴ Edmund Spenser’s poem, *The Faerie Queen* (1590), described this as “Then shall a royal Virgin reign, which shall/Stretch her white rod over the Belgicke shore,/and the great Castle smit so sore with all,/That it shall make him shake, and shortly learn to fall.”⁴⁵ A work by John Reynolds recorded a supposed ‘conversation’ in a heavenly Star Chamber between Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and Prince Henry where Elizabeth was upset over the state of her navy and Spanish aggression, “O my Ships my Ships: God knows they were still dear to me because necessary to England. Where is my Drake, my Cumberland, my Forbusher...My Raleigh? Alas they want me, and King James and England want them; for when they lived and I reigned our Valor could stop the Progression of Spain; Yea my Ships domineered in his seas and Ports.”⁴⁶ Here the state of England’s empire and the ‘progression of Spain’ were portrayed as an unfortunate circumstance, while levelling criticism against the Jacobean regime.

A poem by Sir Charles Fitzgeffery, a poet and member of the clergy, reflected similar notions on Elizabethan imperialism and the primacy of the seas:

How that their lofty minds could not be bounded/Within the cancels, that the world do bound;/How that the deepest seas they searched and sounded,/Making the foremost seas our praise resound:/And nations which not fame herself had seen;/To carol England’s fame, and fame’s fair Queen.⁴⁷

⁴³ Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, 18-19.

⁴⁴ Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, 19.

⁴⁵ E. de Selincourt, and J.C. Smith (ed.), *Spenser: Political Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1612), 158.

⁴⁶ John Reynolds, in *Vox Coeli*, p. 54, quoted in Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 34.

⁴⁷ Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, 20.

Fame on the sea is linked with past chivalric notions, where warfare was common and frequent. Here warfare focused on liberating Protestants and English might in the open seas. The importance of the open sea and England's role in it grew increasingly important over the course of the sixteenth century due to attempted increases in imperial holdings. Under James this attempt was more successful, as the English began to have an active foothold in the Americas. The legacy of a champion upon the sea was tied to the victory over the Spanish Armada of 1588, but this type of aggressive warfare was not favored by James as he preferred his presentation as *Rex Pacificus*.

Some hoped James would be more bellicose in his pursuit of true religion and rooting out Catholicism. This is seen not just in writing produced by his English subjects, but a visit James took to Scotland in 1617 where the town of Dumfries asked James to be robust in his fight against the papacy and Catholicism:

Wee would wish your course more meridional, even trans-Alpine, that that Romish Idol, the whore of Babel resent of her too presumptuous sitting in the Kirk of God's own chair, above the Crown of kings, Let her feel the fury of your sword, let her know the sharpness of her pike, as well as your pen [...] For may we not know by God's assistance, in like courage and magnanimity level with the ground their walls there, as wee did hear of old these monstrous heaps of stones and rapiers reared by the Emperor *Severus* and *Hadrian*. Especially now having the concurrence of that bellicose and resolute Nation which God hath made come under your standard with us [England], how can but we hope to [defeat] all of them who will fight against God for Babylon.⁴⁸

In recalling the Roman Emperors, the Scots draw from a long legacy where English kings present themselves as these past champions. The wish for James to be aggressive in the fight against Catholicism fit within apocalyptic worldviews, as Catholicism was viewed as an immediate threat to Protestants in England and indeed across the continent. As James

⁴⁸ *The Muses Welcome*, ed. John Adamson (Edinburgh, 1618), 228. Quoted in Williamson, 'Britain and the Beast', 17-18.

continuously showed himself as a providential ruler, it seemed his should focus on rooting out popery wherever it sprung.

Rex Pacificus

James's adoption of the public presentation as *Rex Pacificus* defied the will of Protestant militants in Parliament who supported warfare with Catholic powers, as they criticized James's lack of action in the Palatinate in 1618 at the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. Ceremonies alluded to a messianic 'Prince of Prince' as well as Augustus's old motto of *pax et princeps*.⁴⁹ Those supporting James portrayed him as a conqueror without the need for battle, "Their welcome were from warriors they had in hand/Which loss of blood, and valor caus'd to cease:/They welcome are from out a quiet Land/Enlarging us a wondrous league of peace."⁵⁰ The enlargement referred to is James's creation of a larger kingdom through his unity of the English and Scottish thrones. James expressed his frustration over this process and opposition to the title he wished to grant himself, 'the King of Great Britain'. In a letter to the House of Commons in 1604 he said:

Let yourselves not be transported with the curiosity of a few giddy heads, for it is in you now to make the choice: either, by yielding to the providence of God and embracing that which he hath cast in your mouths, to procure the prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine, you and yours, and by the away-taking of that partition wall which already, by God's providence, in my blood is rent asunder, to establish my throne, and your body politic, in a perpetual and flourishing peace; or else, contemning God's benefits freely offered unto us, so spit and blaspheme in his face by preferring war to peace, trouble to quietness, hatred to love, weakness to greatness, and division to union, to show the seeds of discord to all our posterities, to dishonor your king, to make both me and

⁴⁹Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 108-109.

⁵⁰Rolands, 'Stay Sorrowes there about Elizaes Tombe', 43-6 in *Ave Caesar* (1603), cited in Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 109.

yourselves a proverb of reproach in the mouths of all strangers, and ell enemies of this nation, and enviers of my greatness.⁵¹

James argues a ‘few giddy heads’ got carried away and did not realize they were trespassing upon the king’s God-given prerogative. He expressed disgust over preference of war to peace, as peace was the preferential option. He declares it was through the providence of God he was granted the throne, and thus it was the duty of the English people and Parliament to follow his lead. The idea of sowing discord and disunion went against James’s desire for the general union of Christendom, and the union of Scotland and England.

While James was concerned about the unification of Christendom and Christians generally, there was one group who did not fit within this project: non-Christians. For James and many other Protestants there were two enemies, the papacy and Muslims, specifically the Ottoman Empire. Despite trade connections with the Ottoman Empire, it was nonetheless seen as a serious threat to the Christian world. The idea of James or potentially Prince Henry leading forces against this land speaks to the vigilance and apocalyptic mindset permeating this era. If James were successful in this fight, he would have been another Constantine:

Then since (great prince) the torrent of thy power,
May drown whole nations in a Scarlet flood,
On infidels thy indignation power,
And bath not Christian bounds with Christian blood:
The Tyrant Ottoman (who would devour
All the redeemed souls) may be withstood,
While as thy troops (great Albion’s Emperor) once
Do comfort Christs afflicted flock which moans.
Thy thundering troops might take the stately rounds
Of Constantines great Towne renown’d in vain,
And barre the barbarous Turks the baptiz’d bounds [...]
And make the lion to be fear’d far more
Then ever was the Eagle of before.⁵²

⁵¹ G.P.V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984), 226.

⁵² *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, eds. L.E. Kastner and H.B. Charlton (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Text Society, 1929), 2:5-6 quoted in Williamson, ‘Britain and the Beast’, 18-19.

The violence inherent behind nations drowning in a ‘Scarlet flood’ speaks to the seriousness of the campaign against non-Christians, i.e. Catholics, Muslims and Jews. As ‘Albion’s Emperor’ James was head of a Christian army, and like Constantine, who converted the East Roman Empire, so would James convert these non-Christians to Protestantism. Fear of the lion, Scotland’s emblem, as opposed to the eagle, the Hapsburgs, implies future dominance by England as it led the charge in annihilating any non-Christian religion. As these thundering troops they would relieve those trapped under an unholy and barbarous religion and soon be brought into the light of true faith. As a new Constantine James would help to bring these lost souls into the welcoming presence of Christianity, and bring peace to warring nations.

A triumphant moment in James’s presentation as a peacekeeper was George Marcelline’s publishing of *Triumphs of King James the First...Published upon his Majesties advertisement to all the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Christendom* (1610).⁵³ James’s ability to battle via the written word was compared to the frenzy of the battlefield, while James’s chosen weapon was the pen, as he delivered devastating blows upon his foes with the written word:

Not running, like *Aratus*, with a drawn sword in his hand, upon the Walls of Rome, and to the Tyrants gate, to take revents of his just displeasure, but seated. Seated in sign of Royall power and Sovereignty of his own right and Justice. Sitting on his *Throne*, in sign that...*The King that is seated upon his Throne, chased all evil out of his sight.*⁵⁴

By not resorting to violence to assert his majesty and prerogative, James painted himself in the style of an idealistic Erasmian prince, and a wise Solomon. By not acting as a tyrant and immediately punishing those who might dare to question his behavior, James here is shown as a truly noble and worthy leader of the English people, one who would not rashly resort to violence

⁵³ Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture*, 11.

⁵⁴ Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture*, 11.

at the slightest misgiving. Robert Pont, a Scotsman, argued it was only those under the influence of ‘papal superstition’ who opposed the union for fear these two mighty Protestant kingdoms would defeat the Roman church.⁵⁵ John Hayward agreed with this sentiment arguing with the union would help against “foreign enemy or domestic rebel.”⁵⁶ These idealized representations are seen in Jacobean culture where James was at the center of the court and country.

Court Culture

The Banqueting Hall presented James a useful mechanism for performance of hierarchy, with the court and king at the center. The Banqueting Hall linked monarch and divinity, as seen in Ben Jonson’s play *Masque of Blackness* (1605), “Britain Rul’d by a SUN...whose beams shine day, and night.”⁵⁷ The image of the king as an axiom to both the sun and divinity is further represented in Ben Jonson’s *News from the New World* (1620), “Now look and see in yonder throne,/How all those beams are cast from one;/This is that Orb so bright, /Has kept your wonder so awake;/Whence you as from a mirror take/The Suns reflected light.”⁵⁸ In this James is shown as the sun and center of the court, in the same way God was the center of the universe. The importance of the stage and visual representation was not lost on James. A commentator noted the importance of this saying, “Nothing can be better set forth the greatness of princes, together with the duty, love and applause of subjects then these solemn and sumptuous entertainments...the outward face of cost and disbursement being the true and lovely picture of that hearty love which is locked up in the bosoms of the givers.”⁵⁹ Visual depictions of sun-based

⁵⁵ Robert Pont, ‘Of the Union of Britayne’, in Galloway and Levack, *Jacobean Union*, 10.

⁵⁶ John Hayward, *A Treatise of Union and of the Two Realms of England and Scotland* (1604), 5-6.

⁵⁷ Thierry Demabus, ‘Ritual, Ostension and the Divine in the Stuart Masque’, *Literature and Theology*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 2003), pp. 301.

⁵⁸ Demabus, ‘Ritual, Ostension and the Divine in the Stuart Masque’, 305.

⁵⁹ *The Magnificent, Princely, and Most Royall Entertainments Given to the High and Mighty Prince, Princess, Fredrick, Court Palatine, Palsgrave of the Rhyne: and Elisabeth, Sole Daughter to the High and Mighty King of England, James*, sig. A2, quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 101.

imagery are in Peter Paul Reubens artistic work, as he was commissioned to complete panels in the Banqueting Hall, although these were not officially installed until 1635.

One of the panels in Reubens work, *The Benefits of the Government of James I*, depicted James as Solomon, portraying the union between England and Scotland underneath him.⁶⁰ The side panels celebrated the peace he brought, as his wise rule ensured stability in England. His rule was depicted as welcoming a golden age, “The earth unplowed shall yield her crop/Pure honey from the oak shall drop/The fountain shall run milk.”⁶¹ The exaltation of James allows understanding of James’s view of himself and how he wanted to be remembered: a gift for England to bring in peace and avoid civil disruption. Ben Jonson’s first epigram praising James read:

How, best of Kings, do’st thou a specter bear!/How, best of *Poets*, do’st thou laurel wear!/But to things, rare that *Fates* had in their store,/And gave thee both, to shew they could no more./For such a *Poet*, while thy days were green,/Thou wert, as chief of them are said t’have been./And such a Prince though art, wee daily see,/As chief of those still promise they will bee./Whom should my *Muse* then fly to, but the best/Of Kings for grace; of *Poets* for my test?’⁶²

As the best of kings, he is depicted as a muse to his people, bringing them the gift of peace, inspiring art and poetry. These daily showings Jonson describes of the greatness of James are meant as flattery, but speak to the immortal memory James himself built upon these written works as they were published and circulated. Jonson praised James as a poet and ‘best of Kings’, a muse for those who engaged in similar artistic representations, as James himself was a prolific writer.

Portraits

⁶⁰ Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 2003), 28.

⁶¹ Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*, 29.

⁶² Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne and their Contemporaries* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 2.

James sat for portraits, but they were few and far between, consequently meaning there was not significant circulation of the king's image. A 1595 portrait of James depicts him in ermine and an embroidered doublet, and John de Critz later painted one of the first officially commissioned portraits of James, becoming a reference for other pieces.⁶³ Here he is in a white doublet, with a hat containing a jewel referred to as the 'Mirror of Great Britain' and a garter jewel.⁶⁴ The next time James sat for a portrait was in 1616 with Paul van Somer. In this he leans against a table holding his crown, orb and scepter, the symbols of regality, with armor on the floor, signifying hope for peace as James laid his armor down instead of wearing it, showing while England could go to war, he preferred not to do so. In a 1620 portrait with Van Somer, James is in robes of state, with the scepter and orb depicted, as well as signage in the widow reading "dieu et mon droit", the motto of many English kings meaning 'God and my right'.⁶⁵ This is a reminder of his hope for peace in Christendom, as well as the peace he brought to England.

In one of the last portraits of him, by Daniel Mytens, James is depicted in front of a background with a Tudor rose and one of his favorite personal mottos beneath it, "Beati pacifici."⁶⁶ This emphasized James's role as a peacemaker and helper to those in Christendom. Van Passe's engraving of James contained a verse saying James succeeded in his quest, much like Henry VII, in uniting two warring areas. This tied him to the legacy of the Tudor's, as the founder of a new dynasty. One of Francis Delaram's engravings of James has him with a sword mounted on a horse, behind him is the Thames in London with a verse below reading, "Behold the shadow of great Britains King/Whose Fame throughout the World the Muses sing/Heavens

⁶³ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 60.

⁶⁴ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 61.

⁶⁵ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 62.

⁶⁶ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 64.

grant thy happy days may never end/since on Thy life millions of lives depend.”⁶⁷ This representation is dynastic, as he beautified the city of London, putting his insignia and likeness in sight of the public eye. These physical manifestations of power provided visual symbols of the strength of monarchy, engaging in a public act of kingly magnificence even when James was not bodily present.

Banqueting House and Architecture

The Banqueting House was a place to inscribe architecturally the power of the Stuart monarchy. An inscription on one of the walls reads “JAMES, first monarch of Great Britain, built up from the/ground; intended for festive occasions, for formal spectacles,/and for the ceremonials/of the British court; to the eternal glory of his/its name and of his most peaceful empire, he left it for posterity./In the year 1621.”⁶⁸ The Hall became the center of courtly masques, a field dominated by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. Masques are typically thought of as performances alone but these were frequently made available in writing, including hidden meanings conveyed in live performances. There was a market for published masques, as seen in the demand for reprints, indicating interest in reading these materials.⁶⁹ Thomas Dekker’s aforementioned *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604) contained a note in the printed version reading, “Reader, you must understand, that a regard, being had that his Majesty should not be wearied with tedious speeches: A great part of those which are in this Book set down, were left unspoked: So that thou doest receive them as they should have bene delivered, not as they

⁶⁷ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 75.

⁶⁸ David Horwarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 34-35.

⁶⁹ Lauren Shohey, *Reading Masques: The English Masque and Public Culture in the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 90.

were.”⁷⁰ Dekker indicates James often waved aside grand speeches made in performances he attended, something he had the power to do. These masques frequently contained appeal to the goodness of divine right kingship, in an obvious attempt to make the masques flattering to James in hopes he start patronizing the author’s work.

Jacobean ideas of divine right kingship delineated between temporal power and the eternal kingdom of God, as the king was both mortal and reflected the ‘glory of men’, making him a ‘*heavenlie king*’.⁷¹ Samuel Daniel’s work *Panegyrike Congratulatorie* (1603) explored the idea of the union James would bring to the British Isles, and characteristics accompanying an ideal king.⁷² He argued James brought spiritual peace, “Religion comes with thee, peace, righteousness,/Judgment and justice, which more glorious are/Then all thy Kingdoms.”⁷³ Daniel celebrated the king teaching England “there is another grace/Then to be rich; another dignity/Then money; other means for place/Then gold.”⁷⁴ In bringing spiritual peace and tranquility to the kingdom, he expected to be honored as the bringer of a New Jerusalem to England.

The idea of London as a New Jerusalem is a celebration of the Solomonic nature of James’s reign, is seen further in the Banqueting House, where James is portrayed as Solomon on the ceiling.⁷⁵ William Laud’s sermon before James in June 1621, compared the Jewish and British Solomon, with the idea of uniting city, church and empire under this new Jerusalem as

⁷⁰ Fredson Bowers, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953-61), 303 quoted in Lauren Shohey, *Reading Masques: The English Masque and Public Culture in the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 109.

⁷¹ Stephen Logan, *The Hieroglyphic King: Wisdom and Idolatry in the 17th Century Masque* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), 21.

⁷² Logan, *The Hieroglyphic King*, 26

⁷³ Logan, *The Hieroglyphic King*, 26.

⁷⁴ Logan, *The Hieroglyphic King*, 42.

⁷⁵ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 105.

they “were commended to the Jews, and both are to use; And both under one name, *Jerusalem*...Therefore when you sit down to consult, you must not forget the Church; And when we kneel down to pray, we must not forget the State: both are but one *Jerusalem*.”⁷⁶ The rebuilding of St. Paul’s was the physical manifestation of this, reflected in William Dugdale’s *History of St. Paul’s Cathedral* (published 1658), recounting work done on the cathedral by the Stuarts.⁷⁷ He saw this as a Solomonic temple writing, “But *Solomon* his son it was, who having received a pattern from his father *David*...began and perfected that glorious work.”⁷⁸ This type of imagery is seen in Thomas Dekker’s coronation proceedings, and continued to have a strong afterlife in Stuart court imagery. These public presentations allow a glimpse into the nature of English identity, as it was heavily informed by court culture and influenced by English religious life.

English Identity

Shared consciousness of a group of people allowed for mutual goals and aspirations of what a proper regime and country should look like. In his written tracts and public speeches James continually emphasized to his people and Parliament, “that there were a crystal window in my breast wherein all my people might see the secretes thoughts of my heart.”⁷⁹ James told the Star Chamber in a speech in June 29th 1616, “No king can discharge his accompt to God unless he make conscience...to declare and establish the will of God.”⁸⁰ The idea of James leading England towards godly rule was reinforced by George Marcelline’s essay, *The Triumphs of King James the First*, where he argued England was a promised land because James:

⁷⁶ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 6.

⁷⁷ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 107.

⁷⁸ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 107.

⁷⁹ Morrill, *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, 87-88.

⁸⁰ Morrill, *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, 89.

Hath contributed more alone by himself, to build the Temple of God, and to reform the service therein, then all the Kings together have done...and by the same Divinity of Our King, which is his chiefest practice, his own advice, in assaying to restore the little wandering flock to the fold of the church, by a National counsel, or one Oecumenical or Universal, it cannot but bee hoped...In brief, *It is the Land of Promise*, which God reserved to himself in Christendom, where he hath so long time kept the Book open, and the Revelation of his Prophetic and Evangelical Mysteries, God himself Husbanded the Garden of that Country.⁸¹

God blessed England and Scotland, making them a sacred place and land of promise, gifting them holy qualities, and a God-like ruler for these chosen people. The idea “God himself Husbanded the Garden of that Country” is a hint of a holy marriage between the two, as England was another Israel.⁸² England’s rule by a divinely inspired king was a necessity of rulership, as this godly king inherently must be Protestant. This necessity derived historically from the reign of Henry VIII and ushering in of an era of personal monarchy, dependent upon successful propaganda, public representations of authority and image-making and transmission, as there was a cult of kingship developing around the monarchy. James accomplished this through printed works, exaltation of his son and heir, court ceremonies, plays and building projects. In a culture of consumption, the maintenance and demonstrations of allegiance to the crown were important to the exercise of power.

English identity changed over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as seen in the focal point of loyalty being tied to the state and the English religion, assisting in the formation of collective identity. The increasing importance of patriotism in the English Reformations and particularly during the Elizabethan age as new ideas on the importance of country focused on the dignity of people, and respect for the individual. These ideas and words changed in meaning over time seen in Thomas Elyot’s Latin-English *Dictionary* (1538) where

⁸¹ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 47.

⁸² Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 47.

‘patria’ translates as “a country.”⁸³ Thomas Cooper’s *Theasaurus Linguae Romane et Britannicae* (1565) translated *nations refinae* to “the country’s where resin growth.”⁸⁴ John Rider’s dictionary *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (1589) defined country as “a County”, or “Shire”, *comitatus* “to do after the country fashion”, “a country”, *region, natio, orbis*, “our country, or native soil”, *patria* “a lover of his own country and *Philopolites*”, “country man, or one of the same country”.⁸⁵ These changing definitions of what country and people meant articulations new conceptualizations of these ideas in popular imagination.

In medieval thought empire/*imperium* was associated with kingship, and inherent with their role an *Imperator*, one who held sovereign power outside of normal secular powers.⁸⁶ Empire included political and spiritual aspects, as seen in the reasoning behind the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals, “Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an Empire, and so hath accepted in this world, governed by one supreme head and King.”⁸⁷ Thomas Elyot’s dictionary defined *Imperium* as “a solemn commandment, a preeminence is governance, authority royal.”⁸⁸

A 1582 homily showed new understanding of this concept, as the Pope was accused of “usurping against...natural lords the Emperors, as against all other Christian kings”, and continued further, “more than mauraile, that any subjects would...hold with natural foreign usurpers against their own sovereign lords and natural contrary.”⁸⁹ The sermon described the nature of emperors:

⁸³ Refer to Thomas Elyot’s Latin-English *Dictionary* (1538) for further reference.

⁸⁴ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 32.

⁸⁵ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 32.

⁸⁶ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 32-33.

⁸⁷ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 33.

⁸⁸ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 33.

⁸⁹ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 34.

If the Emperors subjects had known out of Gods word their duty to their prince they would not have suffered the Bishop of Rome to persuade them to forsake their sovereign lord the Emperor against the oath of fidelity...Had the Emperors, subjects likewise known, and been of any understanding in Gods word, would they at other times have rebelled against their Sovereign Lord, only for that the Bishop of Rome did bear them in hand, that is was simony and heresy too, for the Emperor to give any ecclesiastical dignities, or promotion of his learned Chaplains, or other of his learned clergy, which all Christian Emperors before him had done without control.⁹⁰

Emperors are argued to have made mistakes in the past and having not fully understood and known God's work, as they handed over their sovereignty and knowledge to the pope. This type arrangement rotted their tenure and rule. Only in finding true religion could their dignity be rediscovered. An emperor following true religion was important to English monarchical understandings of power and his place within God's providence. The language in the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals argues the King of England was the king and one true ruler in his realm, and as he followed true religion and was the spiritual and political head of the realm. These new meanings of empire were important as confessional identity and other nodes of identity became increasingly blurred, with countries dividing along political lines. Confessional identity was at the core of English sense of self, but these political fault lines began to have increased importance. The confessional split on the continent created a sense of increasing anxiety about the wrong type of religion taking over.

There was distrust of both the Scottish and Irish, and the potential influence they might have on the noble English, as seen in William Harrison's work where he said:

But stranger, and such by obscure invasion have nestled in this Island [...] I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they used commonly to steal over to Britain in leather skewes [...] they so planted themselves in these parts, that unto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleaned of them.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 35.

⁹¹ MacCool, 'The Construction of England as a Protestant 'British' nation in the Sixteenth Century', 602.

Speaking of the Scots as barbaric, and men without letters was an insult. They are described as stealing and plundering from the English because they did not have the ability to craft things on their own. This distrust is seen strongly in James's quest for a union between Scotland and England. When speaking of the Irish, Harrison said, "those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo speak, are non other than those Scots, of whom Jerome speaks... who used to feed on the buttocks of boys and womens paps, as delicate dishes."⁹² Harrison connects the barbarity of the Irish to the Scottish and their untamed nature, showing both groups as equally uncivilized. These were some of the stereotypes James grappled with upon his arrival, as he was never seen as an English enough king, having been born in such a backwards place.

Conclusion

While James maintained control of the country during his tenure, he faced backlash for his preference for peace, although it should be noted there was support for this policy prior to 1618 and by some factions after 1618, as it kept England uninvolved in continental conflict, allowing more time to focus on internal issues. The backlash to his imagery of *Rex Pacificus* and his conflicts with Parliament over prerogative highlight changing conceptions of the power of the monarch, and what the English wished for from their king. James's continued and defensive insistence upon his own power and prerogative lets us know rather than being an exercise for him to articulate his views on kingship, there was a need for him to lay out his role and duties. While England may have been depicted internally as a strong Protestant bastion, pushing back against tyrannical Catholic forces against the world, this did not necessarily work with James's articulated view of himself as *Rex Pacificus*, nor with realities he faced upon his accession.

⁹² MacCool, 'The Construction of England as a Protestant 'British' nation in the Sixteenth Century', 601.

While the debates he engaged in on the nature of his power were typically done amongst the highest levels of the political nation, the debate between himself and Parliament over exactly what this entailed provides valuable insight into English conceptualization of the king's power. James's own preferred representation is seen through the mediums he expressed himself through which proved successful, despite difficulties he faced. James soon faced another challenge to his representational strategy and foreign policy goals, as another rose in the public eye who encapsulated all the hopes for a young, virile Protestant prince: his son and heir, Prince Henry Frederick. Henry's representation is of important consequence, as he was frequently evoked during the Thirty Years War, as he was the lost Protestant warrior England had so hoped for. Henry's representation reflects English identity and patriotism, as he was portrayed as one who would lead England into a new Golden Age of Protestant militarism. As this chapter explored the backlash to James's imagery, the next contains a study of the monarch English wished to see.

Chapter 5. Prince Henry, The Thirty Years War, and International Protestantism

He was the great Captain of our Israel, the hope that have builded up this heavenly new Jerusalem he interred (I think) the whole frame of this business.¹

--Ralph Hamor

A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia

The quote above underscores the hopes and dreams imbued upon James's son and heir, Prince Henry Frederick. James's image as *Rex Pacificus* fluctuated between being well received by his government and the populace, to distrusted during times of warfare, when he was asked to reconsider his preferred approach of mediating between disputes. A challenge to this imagery came from an unlikely source, his son Henry, who in print and verse was a Protestant warrior. Henry's image was in direct opposition to the king's peacekeeping tendencies and the image James presented. Henry was, however, the idealized representation of what the people wanted from their future king, and what they lacked in their present one. Henry came to be the representation of all the things James was not: the future torchbearer of the memory of the late Queen Elizabeth, the Protestant champion Europe craved, and the prince who was promised to England. Henry's imagery reflects English patriotism and identity, as he was the representation of what the English wanted from their king, and virtues they saw him as possessing. The imagined English sense of self was absorbed in the person of Henry Frederick, as he became an idealized Protestant prince, much in the same manner Elizabeth was presented after her death. While this chapter focuses on Henry's representation rather than James's, Henry's public presentation was as a rival to James and as he supposedly possessed virtues James lacked. The truth of Henry's nature and his viewpoints on his public presentation are of little to no concern

¹ Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia* (London, 1615), fol. 51

here, as he is presented in this chapter and indeed was a conduit through which artists, writers, playwrights and essayists imagined a perfect Protestant prince, the true heir of Elizabeth's legacy and future King of Britain. Henry's early death only exacerbated frustrations with James's image as a peacemaker and his foreign policy, partially due the Thirty Years War in 1618, one of the most dramatic events in James's reign.

The Thirty Years War became an international struggle between the forces of Protestantism and Catholicism, and while James wanted to stay uninvolved outside of a peacekeeping capacity, he provided military and diplomatic support, but to Protestant belligerents it was not on the scale deemed necessary. While the issues behind the Thirty Years War were not simply religious infighting, there remained apocalyptic sentiment surrounding this war due to its massive scale, atrocities committed, and potential political implications depending on which side was victorious. Prince Henry's image reflected notions of an ideal prince, and the Thirty Years War showed the depth of English passion and their vehement rejection of that which was not Protestant and English. The Thirty Years War presents an important moment where the cracks in James's presentation as *Rex Pacificus* are most obvious. Last chapter explored backlash to James's imagery and the fight for his prerogative, what this chapter does is places this backlash in the context of the Thirty Years War and the rival presentation of Henry Frederick. Much of this chapter focuses on images of Henry and unpacks his public representation as this gives a window into the desires of the English people. While there were those who warned these martial instincts were not feasible and could be dangerous, and it allows examine of the nature of English identity and how they saw themselves in relation to the rest of the world.

Protestant Warrior Imagery

The legacy and representation of Henry Frederick suggests what the English wanted from their future king. In the wake of Elizabeth's death there was an absence of a strong Protestant warrior who would take her mantle and bring ruin to Catholicism at home and abroad. When James failed to live up to this standard, Henry took this role. The insistence on making both Elizabeth and Henry Protestant warriors lets us see English conceptualization their place in the God's divine plan, as defenders of true faith and religion, given the task of spreading the good word overseas to struggling Protestant communities, once again highlighting the providential place England possessed in God's divine plan. This was heightened by the advent of the Thirty Year's War in 1618, as things seemed even more desolate after the people lost their champion Henry in 1612.

Prince Henry's Early Life

James's son Prince Henry was portrayed as a perfect Protestant prince, and while this ideal depiction did not suit James's political and foreign motivations, it fit militant Protestant ideology. Militant Protestant ideology refers here to the belief by certain Protestants that the threat of Catholicism needed to be met by aggressive action. James himself was never depicted wearing armor, but rather preferred the image of himself as *Rex Pacificus*, the bringer of peace to Christendom. There were challenges to traditional depictions of heroes, but the notion of a Protestant warrior remained powerful in English print, particularly in the context of continued religious strife in Europe. Prince Henry was the center of this energy and idealistic portrayal. Daniel Price, an English preacher and writer, described him as "a young *Ptolemy* for studies and Libraries; such a young *Alexander* for affecting martialism and chivalry, such a young *Josiah* for

religion and piety.”² James actively cultivated the image of Henry as an educated prince and proved successful in this, as Henry’s learning was widely praised. James was expected to nourish Henry’s virtue, and ensured the kingdom was left in good hands. James publicly gave advice to his son through the work *Basilicon Doron*, an advice manual on how to be a proper king, which included an outline of the basis of the king’s prerogative and the divine origins of his power. *Basilicon Doron* was first printed in 1599 when Henry began his formal education, and this text was meant as practical advice to him on the art of kingship.

When Henry was born in 1594 James ensured his baptism was a grand ceremony.³ A work describing the occasion was published in both Edinburgh and London, *A True Reportarie*, honoring Henry’s baptism while also offering James an avenue to point to the majesty and security of his own dynasty. This work stressed James’s magnificence as compared to the chaos and disruption of his mother’s reign. *A True Reportarie* predicted Henry would inherit a peaceful crown, as he would rule both Scotland and England, bringing peace in the same manner his father hoped to do in England, while making war upon religious enemies both inside and outside of Britain.

James built a new chapel in Stirling Castle for the occasion, giving him a chance to publicly display his views on divine right absolutism and celebrate the birth of the future King of Britain. James ensured the Stuart line was associated with Protestantism, and this was the perfect opportunity to do so. At the baptism, there were depictions of James as King Solomon, the biblical King David and the Emperor Constantine. A description of the baptism reads:

In the midst of the Chapel Royall within the partition, where the Kings Majesty, the Ambassadors, and Prince with his convoy were placed, there was a new pulpit

² Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (Southampton Solent University in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2007), 22.

³ Rich Bowers, ‘James VI, Prince Henry, and ‘A True Reportarie’ of Baptism at Stirling 1594’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Fall 2005), 3-5.

erected: The same was richly hung with cloth of gold: All the pavement within this partition, was Prince-like laid with fine tapestry. Under the Pulpit was another desk, wherein sate in the midst, M. David Cunninghame, Bishop of Abirdene, M. David Lindsey, Minister of Leyth, and John Duncanson, one of the ordinary ministers to the Kings Majesties: Before whom was set a table, covered with yellow yelote.’⁴

The presence of ambassadors, while typical, provided James an opportunity to show off the renovations he completed, as these foreign visitors took in the splendor of Scotland. The display of a future heir showed the likely continuation of the dynasty, and the future ruler of both England and Scotland, making this a momentous occasion. The ceremony provides insight into how James wanted to portray his future heirs and himself. This set the stage for what James hoped to be a union between Scotland and England when he took the English throne.

These representations of kingship in Henry’s baptism elevated the office to a level previously unseen in the representation of Scottish kings and their heirs, as James moved past the chaos of his own ascension to the throne. David Moysie in 1594 wrote Henry’s birth was, “a great comfort and matter of joy to the hail people, and movit them to great triumph, wantonness and play, for benefices were set out, and dancing and playing visit in all parties, as if the people had being daft for mirth.”⁵ Henry’s birth brought comfort as the birth of any heir did, particularly a male heir. Even with the high mortality rate of children this was a promise of the continuation of the dynasty rather than descent into chaos. The poem ‘Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia’ expresses hope Henry would be the champion of a united Britain:

And a Prince born of a Scoto-Britannic king
Calls them into a single body of Scoto-Britannic people.
To what great heights will Scoto-Britannic glory now rise.
With no limits set by time and space? [...]
Validate the claims asserted by Scoto-Britannic champions,
The claims made famous in their fathers’ wars,

⁴ Bowers, ‘James VI, Prince Henry’, 11-12.

⁵ David Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, ed. James Dennistoun (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1830), 113.

Until with Iberian pride everywhere subdued,
Glorious by triumph over slippery Geryon,
You press under your foot the triple crown of the papacy,
Worn by the Roman Cerberus who with his dismal torch
Redoubles the Tartarean thunderclaps from the Tarpeian rock.⁶

The birth of Henry to a king who was the future ruler of the British speaks to the providential nature of James's rule, as he sired a prince who would crush the papacy and bring glory to the British Isles. As James was Protestant, it was certain his son would be raised in the proper religion, ensuring the continuation of Protestantism in Scotland and England. The promise of this future Protestant king fits the mythology of Henry as a conquering figure for Protestantism, as well as English insistence on having a Protestant monarch.

Prince Henry and Chivalry

Sir Clement Edmondes, a member of the English House of Commons, dedicated his 1604 edition *Observations upon Caesars Commentaries* to Prince Henry, as Caesar represented "those many principles of war which his Majesty hath set down by way to precept."⁷ The dedication refers to James's advisory work *Basilicon Doron*. James wrote *Basilicon Doron*, as an advisory manual to his son about how to be a godly leader and rule wisely. The work is a culmination of how James perceived proper kingship, as he attempted to rule his subjects peacefully. His ideas of kingship did not necessarily align with the bellicose Protestant policy so desired by certain factions of his nobles. While Henry was portrayed as an ideal prince, he was not necessarily known for his intense study of Scripture, one of his weaknesses. Andrew Willet's *Harmonie upon the First Book of Samvel* (1607) presented Henry a book of prayers to learn the Protestant faith more deeply. The dedication reads:

⁶ *Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia* (Edinburgh, 1594), quoted in Williamson, 'Britain and the Beast', 16.

⁷ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 28.

Nothing maketh a mortal Prince more like in earth to the immortal Prince and great King in heaven, then to be willing to hear, as Gods ears are open unto the complaints and suits of all: So your princely humility and humanity being apt to receive and regard, what is presented and exhibited, hath emboldened me thus to write.⁸

This link between good Protestant education and closeness to God fit within the mental world James created through his articulations of kingship, where he saw the office as one in service to God, and godlike in the responsibilities commanded. Richard Davies in a 1610 essay encouraged Henry to lead his people towards a life of active service, “In thy right, our Hearts, Lives, Limmes, and Swords,/Shall stretch our Actions far beyond our Words.”⁹ Much as James is shown as God’s sword and chosen instrument, here we see this representation transferred to Henry. By setting an example to the English people of what a proper Protestant life was, James encouraged his subjects along a path of righteousness as their new king. As Henry grew into adulthood and surpassed the dangers of early life, this mythology only grew, and with his father’s accession to the English throne, there was a new audience for this propaganda.

Daniel Price described Henry’s descent from Scotland to England as, “*Salomon* the Prince renowned through the *Christian* world, al *beams* of expectations *reflexed* upon him, the *lines* of the whole *circumference* met in Prince HENRY as in the *Center*.”¹⁰ As the center of so many hopes and expectations Henry is at the center of these musings, a new Caesar who would continue to bring glory to his future kingdoms. When Henry entered Althorp, an English town to

⁸ Andrew Willet, *An Harmonie upon the First Book of Samvel...The divers readings compared, doubtful questions explained, places of Scripture reconciled, Controversies briefly touched, and moral collections applied. Wherein about four hundred Theological questions are handled, with great brevity and much variety* (1607), sig. 2^r

⁹ Richard Davies, *Chesters Triumph in Honor of her Prince. As it was performed upon S. Georges Day 1610. In the for said City* (1610), sig. A2^r

¹⁰ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 65.

the north of London, in June 1603 he heard a proclamation, “And when slow Time hath made you fit for war,/Look over the strict Ocean, and think where/You may lead us forth.”¹¹

In 1613 Robert Allyn wrote Henry brought with him hopes for “a Prince,/Whom nature grace’d with such divine perfection,/That all that e’re were borne before, or since,/Did choose him for their chief by rare election./Famous for learning, valor, wisdom, worth:/Royall by virtue, beauty, bounty, birth.”¹² Sir William Alexander in *Paranesis* (1604) advised Henry on princely conduct, “happy *Henry*, that art highly borne,/Yet beatifies thy birth with signs of worth,/And though a child, all childish toys doest scorn,/To show the world thy virtues budding forth.”¹³ The scorning of toys and signs of virtue at an early age displays the hopes attached to Henry, as this new prodigal son would wage war against the unholy and bring glory to Britain. James portrayed his son as a future beacon of light and hope to his kingdom, as Henry reflected James’s own virtues and proof of the stability of the Jacobean dynasty.

Prior to Henry’s investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610, the Venetian ambassador commented on Henry’s desire to engage the public, and James’s trepidation in denying his son this request:

It will be the first time he has appeared in public in the lists. He found some difficult in obtaining the King’s consent, but his Majesty did not wish to cross him. At the next meeting of Parliament which is summoned for the 9th of February next, they intend to confer on him, with all the ancient ceremony, the Principality of Wales which he greatly desires...In virtue of this title the Prince will enjoy the revenues of the Principality and will have a seat in the Council of State.¹⁴

¹¹ Ben Johnson, *A Particular Entertainment of the Queen and Prince Their Highness to Althorpe*, p. 13. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 109.

¹² Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 67.

¹³ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 67.

¹⁴ C.S.P., *Venetian*, XI (1607-1610), par. 738 in Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, 64.

As Henry grew into maturity, the importance of his public role increased, as he wished to be seen in public, preferring here a chance to engage in a militaristic display of might by appearing in the lists. James's worrying about 'crossing' Henry is an acknowledgement of his growing power.

In an address to Parliament prior to Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610, James wished for Henry to "see his Fortunes established, in whom their own, are so much secured; and in whom, the world observeth so many rare and eminent gifts of nature, and choice parts of virtue and reverence to vs his Father."¹⁵ While James praised his son, he portrayed himself in a favorable manner by highlighting his own virtues. Soon though, comparisons were drawn between Henry and James, with Henry possessing certain characteristics and virtues James lacked. George Marcelline's *Triumphs of King James* (1610) used imagery from the *Iliad*, where there was combat between Hector and Ajax, to show Henry's militant characteristics. As James lacked these militaristic virtues, Henry fulfilled this role:

This young Prince is a warrior already, both in gesture and countenance, so that in looking on him, he seemeth unto vs, that in him we do yet see *Ajax* before *Troy*, crowding among the armed Troops, calling unto them, that he may join body to body with *Hector*, who stands trembling with chill-cold fear, to see him seek to determine the difference in the enclosed Field or Lists.¹⁶

Comparing Henry with old heroes of the past, Marcelline connected him to long-standing chivalric traditions. Henry as a new warrior and conquering hero shows his absorption of a wide variety of hopes thrust upon him. Henry was connected to Henry VIII, as a portrait depicted him at the hunt in a similar pose to Henry VIII in Hans Holbein's portraits, with the legs slightly apart and hand on the hip.¹⁷ As Henry matured into adulthood he was a rival to James, someone who held the promise of a brighter and more godly future when England and Scotland were the

¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I*, ed. R. Lemon and M.A. Everett Greene (1856-72), IX, p. 597

¹⁶ George Marcelline, *Triumphs of King James*, sig. L3^v

¹⁷ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 89.

Protestant warriors of Europe. In his death, Henry continued to be useful as an image of all James was not, his imagining as a Protestant warrior was like Elizabeth's: it managed to grow stronger in death.

Sir William Alexander encouraged Henry to "show the world thy virtues budding forth", describing his childhood and future as "And though a child, all childish toys doest scorn,/To show the world thy virtues budding forth,/Which may by time this glorious yle adorn,/And bring eternal Trophies to the North./While as though doest thy fathers forces lead,/And art the hand, while as he is the head."¹⁸ Henry is described as an extension of his father's will and authority, but more active in his militaristic pursuits, as Alexander goes on to delight in Henry's military training. "This well becomes the courage of thy Sire,/That trains thee up according to thy kind./He, though the world his prop'rous reign admire,/In which his subjects such a comfort find,/Hath (if once mou'd the bloody art t'imbrace)/That wit for to make war, which now keeps peace."¹⁹ These warlike tendencies are reflected in advice George Marcelline gave to Henry in 1610, "never fear that the victories of My King will leave you nothing to conquer."²⁰ James as another potential conqueror assisted in his imagery, as this portrayed he and Henry as partners who together would bring glory to their empire, with James as a peacemaker, and Henry his arm in war.

Filial Obedience

Marcelline depicts James as a triumphant military figure, much like David, while reassuring Henry he too would have his moments of glory. He sees the two as bound together:

You shall be the arm and strength, but his the head and Counsel; Yours the pain and endeavor, his the effect; Yours the Action, but he the Agent: You for him, & he for you, and you and he jointly together, shall win an immortal glory; to the

¹⁸ William Alexander, *Paraenesis*, sig. B1^r.

¹⁹ Alexander, *Paraenesis*, sig. C3^v.

²⁰ Marcelline, *Triumphs of King James*, sig. M2^v.

end, that al the world may see you in effect after the same manner, as one figured Caesar, aloft, deposing or trading a Globe under him, holding a book in one hand, and a sword in the other: so that it may be said of you, *That for the one & other you are a Caesar*.²¹

Henry as James's arm and his weapon was useful to James's preferred message, as it argued Henry was under James's control and followed his father's guidance and advice. James saw this father-son relationship as one of 'filial obedience', as there was a clear line between personal and political relationships.²² This is reaffirmed in 1606 with both Convocations, religious assemblies in the Church of England, describing filial obedience as, "which power and authority...although we only term it fatherly power (*potestas patria*); yet being well considered how far it did reach, we may truly say that it was in a sort of royal power (*potestas regia*); as now, in a right and true construction, royal power (*potestas regia*) may be called fatherly power (*potestas patria*)."²³ In a patriarchal society, Henry should be obedient to James in all matters as James was both the head of the family and head of the country. Notions of obedience to James are seen in his coronation rituals, and his conflicts with Parliament over the extent of his prerogative, as explored in the previous chapter. What the reality of their individual relationship was is of little consequence, as it was the public portrayal of their relationship and individual virtues which matter here. While it was natural for excitement to surround the new heir, the continuous comparisons to James was clearly worrisome, as James frequently was portrayed as a less perfect Protestant prince than Henry.

James was wary of Henry's power and aware of the disastrous impact this could have on his prerogative. The Venetian ambassador reported such concerns on June 16th, 1610, saying:

²¹ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 76-77.

²² Jean E. Graham, 'The Performing Heir in Jonson's Jacobean Masques', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 41, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama (Spring 2001), 381.

²³ Graham, 'The Performing Heir in Jonson's Jacobean Masques', 383.

The day before yesterday, I went to wait on his Highness in his lodging at St. James and congratulated him on his entry on the possession of the Principality. The Prince was pleased at this compliment, which no one else has paid him as yet. He has not yet received his revenues; that is being put off till October next, and possibly further; nor has the King been pleased to allow him to increase his household as he desired. It seems that the King has some reasonably jealousy of the rising sun.²⁴

That James was jealous of Henry for the attention he received is not surprising, as a king who frequently articulated his own viewpoints on power, to have such a promising young heir who could challenge James's power was not desirable. The compliment paid to Henry was clearly well received, as he was growing into manhood and wished to take on increased responsibility, something James was hesitant to give.

Prince Henry as a Protestant Warrior

George Chapman dedicated *Twelve Books of the Iliad* (1609), his translation of Homer's work, to both Prince Henry and his mother, Anne of Denmark. He described Henry as a 'prince of men' in the first lines of the opening Epistle:

Since perfect happiness, by Princes sought,/Is not with birth, borne, nor
Exchequers bought;/Nor followers in great Trains; nor is possest/With any
outward State; but makes him blest/That governs inward; and beholdeth there,/All
his affections stand about him bare;/That by his power can send to Tower, and
death,/All traitorous passions; marshalling beneath/His justice, his mere will; and
in his mind/Holds such a scepter, as can keep confine/His whole lifes actions in
the royal bounds/Of Virtue and Religion, and their grounds/Takes in to sow his
honors, his delights/And complete empire- you should learn these rights/(Great
Prince of men) by Princely presidents;/Which here, in all kinds, my true zeal
presents/To furnish your youths groundwork.²⁵

Henry is portrayed as virtuous, following true religion, and expanding the English empire. While his lineage and royal birth were important, here Chapman focuses on his inherently virtuous

²⁴ C.S.P., *Venetian*, XI (1607-1610), par. 954

²⁵ George Chapman, *Chapman's Homer: The Iliad*, Epistle dedicatory to Prince Henry (1609), p. 3

state. As the holder of virtue and religion, it was his job to expand the English empire and rid his lands of those who would interfere with this divine mission.

Chapman connected Henry and Elizabeth together in his work *The Conspiracy of Byron* saying:

And now for England you shall go, my lord,/Our lord ambassador to that
matchless queen;/You never had a voyage of such pleasure,/Honor, and worthy
objects; there's a queen/Where nature keeps here state, and state her
court,/Wisdom her study, continence her fort;/Where magnamity,
humanity/Firmness in counsel and integrity,/Grace to her poorest subjects,
majesty; To awe the greatest, have respects divine,/And in her each part, all the
virtues shine.²⁶

Here he encouraged Henry to imitate this famed Protestant champion. Linking Henry and Elizabeth together suggests Henry was viewed as her true successor, as he was a strong Protestant ruler who seemed he would give due honor to her legacy. This connection is critical, while James might have been Elizabeth's successor, Henry is portrayed as the one who would lead his people in the war between good and evil. Instead of this valuable mythology transferring to James it was located with Henry instead. James did however, benefit from this type of representation, as he was the father of this valiant young man, proving his virility and continuation of the Protestant line in England. When speaking of Henry observers claimed, "God had reserved and destined him *as a chosen Instrument to...work the Restoration of his Church and the Destruction of Romish Idolatry.*"²⁷ As an instrument of God, it was Henry's destiny to lead forces against Romans and bring forth Protestantism. Much in the same way Elizabeth previously had this representation thrust upon her, so did Henry.

In a similar message, Henry Peacham's description of Henry in *Minerva Britanna or a Garden of Heroical Deuises* (1612) presented him as, "THUS, thus young HENRY, like

²⁶ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 141.

²⁷ Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 54.55.

Macedon's son,/Ought'st thou in arms before they people shine./A prodigy for foes to gaze upon,/But still a glorious Load-star unto thine:/Or second PHOEBUS whose all piercing ray/Shall cheer our hearts, and chase our fears away.”²⁸ As a prodigal son who was similar to other ancient heroes, it was hoped Henry would protect and bring joy to his future subjects. Colonel Clement Edmondes letter to Henry said, “Your Grace's name being already spread through the whole world, I hope in God, that you shall follow the footsteps of the Prince of Wales, King Edward the third's son who not only did subdue France, but also reduced the proud Spaniards in their own country.”²⁹ The hope of Henry defeating the forces of Catholicism on the continent is seen by Edmondes premonition Henry would imitate the famous Black Prince from earlier centuries. Like the Black Prince, Henry too died young, with hopes unfulfilled and leaving behind a grieving country. The connection between Henry and past war heroes made him truly worthy of the English crown.

Outside the British Isles Henry was portrayed as a future conqueror, seen in Thomas Coryate's travel book *Coryats Crudities* (1611):

It may perhaps yield some little encouragement to many noble and generous young Gallants that follow your Highness Court, and give attendance upon your Peerelesse person, to travel into foreign countries, and enrich themselves partly with the observations, and partly with the languages of outlandish regions, the principal means (in my poor opinion) to grace and adorn those courtly Gentlemen, whose noble parentage, ingenuous education, and virtuous conversation have made worthy to be admitted into your Highness Court: seeing thereby they will be made fit to do your Highness and their Country to better service when opportunity shall require.³⁰

Coryat encouraged him to send out people to travel for him and observe foreign lands, and admit those who might enrich the court to make it more worldly and renowned. This encouragement

²⁸ Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical devices* (London, 1612), fol. 17.

²⁹ Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, 42.

³⁰ Thomas Coryate, ‘Epistle Dedicatorie, *Coryats Crudities* (London, 1611), sig. A4^v-5^r.

for continued overseas expansion is expected given England was rather late to this game, and was making strides overseas in the early part of the seventeenth century.

In continuing to cheer these activities, Coryat expressed hope that the goodness of English rule and the Protestant word spreading to unsaved populations. James and Henry as protectors of the English empire overseas is reflected in William Crashaw's sermon, where he described their roles as:

Our mighty King & noble Prince themselves *fathers and founders* of this plantation and protectors of this royal enterprise thereby themselves *new Constantines or Charles the great*: for by attempting and achieving of this great work of the heathens conversion, let their highnesses bee assured, the ages to come will stile them by the glorious names of *James the great*, and *Great Henry*.³¹

The promise of mutual glory for both father and son overseas was tempting, as it gave both a chance to secure their legacy, spreading English rule far and wide, and the opportunity to civilize others who had yet to see the light of Protestantism. As the founders of these plantations, and protectors of those overseas, Henry and James are depicted as new Constantines. As previously discussed, James was associated with this imagery, but here it was also applicable to his son, as the two mutually worked together, expanding English might. But while they are depicted in mutual accord with one another, Henry was as a weapon to criticize James.

Sir Henry Wotton wrote in a letter of Henry's attempts to convert Venetians to Protestantism in the dispute between Signoria and Pope Paul V. Henry sent to him a letter in 1607 saying, "If he were of age, he would come in person to serve the Republic."³² This was expressed privately but the story spread by 1609, leading to Paolo Sarpi's criticizing James for

³¹ William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London* (London, 1610), sigs. C2, D, I, I2.

³² Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 23. This quote highlights that despite the supposed dichotomy between Protestantism and Catholicism, there were diplomatic relationships which showed the practicality of these alliances.

not providing material support for help against Rome, given his son offered military assistance, showing how James was losing control of Henry's public portrayal. Particularly after Henry's death, the notion of him as a Protestant knight continued as criticism of James, especially during Charles's Spanish marriage negotiations.³³ Disenchantment with James only increased as he was compared to this supposedly perfect prince.

Henry's portrayal as a knightly figure is reflected through artwork and dedications. Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* has an engraved frontispiece with Henry practicing with a pike, and the work is dedicated to Henry:

Britaine, behold here portrayed, to thy sight,/Henry, thy best hope, and the
world's delight,/Ordained to make thy eight Great Henry's, nine:/Who, by the
virtue in the trebble Trine,/To his own goodness (in his Being) brings/These
several Glories of the-eight English Kings;/Deep Knowledge, greatness, long
Life, Policy,/Courage, Zeal, Fortune, awful Majesty./His like great Neptune on
three Seas shall rover,/And rule three Realms, with triple power, like Jove;/Thus
in soft Peace, thus in tempestuous wars,/Till from his foot, his Fame shall strike in
the stars.³⁴

Henry as an extension of one his predecessors Henry VIII was important and useful imagery, as Henry VIII was remembered as successfully bucking the yoke of Catholicism from England and ushering in an era of Protestant ascendancy, leading England on a path of greatness.³⁵ An attempt was made to give James partial credit for Henry's martial virtues. Again, the connection forged here is an important one, as Henry VIII began the movement to rid England of Catholicism, meaning not only did Henry Frederick bear his name, but he would share his mission of rooting out evil religions. As the potential unifier of England, Ireland and Scotland, Henry would rule

³³ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 24.

³⁴ Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, sig 3^v.

³⁵ While this is not the reality of what the English Reformations looked like, for the purposes of Henry Frederick's imagery, the comparison between he and Henry VIII was done on the presupposed grounds that this was the reality of the Henrician Reformations. For the purposes here what these changes looked like in reality are not necessarily of consequence as the propaganda being put forth was inherently biased.

over Britain in its entirety. In doing so he would “strike in the stars”, immortalized for this seemingly insurmountable task, given the troubles England had with attempting to subdue Ireland.³⁶

These militant activities of Henry were commented on in a recollection by John Bagford, an English writer and bookseller, describing Henry practicing exercises and educational ventures:

Prince Henry caused a piece of ground near Leicester-fields to be walled in for the exercise of arms which he much delighted in; a house was built at one end for an armory and a well furnished library of all such books as related to arms, chivalry, military affairs, in camping, fortification, etc. The best that could be got in the kind of all languages, at the charge of the prince, who had a particular learned man for a librarian, whose name I have forgot. It was called the Artillery Ground.³⁷

Bagford combined Henry’s princely learning with his military prowess, making him both an ideal learned prince and militant young man. This was fitting with Protestant internationalism, encouraging the ability to study scripture, and spreading the faith. Daniel Price saw this as a necessity, warning Henry, “The *infection* of Popery spreads too far [...]The eyes, the harts, and hopes of all the Protestant world, be fixed upon your *Highness*, all expecting your Gracious faithfulness, & readiness in the extirpation of that man of sin. March valiantly herein...and the God of Princes shall protect you.”³⁸ Another pamphleteer commented, “The eyes of all Christendom are now cast upon you, to see you begin.”³⁹ With the world’s eyes turned on him, Henry was put under an international spotlight, as a multitude of hopes were thrust upon him.

³⁶ Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, sig 3^v.

³⁷ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 180-181.

³⁸ Daniel Price, *The defense of truth against a book falsely called the triumph of truth* (London, 1610), sig. 2^v.

³⁹ Edmond Richer, *A treatise of ecclesiastical and politic power* (London, 1612), sig. A 4^v

Bishop Hall advised Henry against flattery, as it was dangerous to princes, “It had been better for many great ones not to have been, than to have been in their conceits more than men.”⁴⁰ He continues on the dangers of collective group thinking:

Who can but wonder, that reads of some not unwise Princes, so bewitched with the enchantments of their Parasites, that they have thought themselves Gods immortal, and have suffered themselves so styles, so adored? Neither Temples nor Statutes, nor Sacrifices have seemed too much glory to the greatness of their self-love.⁴¹

The constant celebration of oneself is argued as dangerous not just to the ruler, but the people, as this type of ego could prove ruinous. At times these sacrifices for glory would get in the way of other tasks Henry needed to attend to, and could prove a dangerous distraction. Here we find cracks within the fantasized portrayal of Henry, as there were real world ramifications for seeking out war without just cause or proper financial backing, and it was dangerous to support unchecked ambition. Regardless, the memory of Henry remained largely positive, and only came to be further mythologized upon his death.

Prince Henry’s Death

Henry died on November 6th, 1612, at only eighteen years old. Anthony Weldon, an English courtier who supposedly wrote a damning portrayal of James *The Court and Character of James I* (1650), and Francis Osborne, an English essayist, were saddened following Henry’s death. Chapman’s *An Epicdied or/Funeral Song;/on the most Disastrous Death, of the,/High-borne Prince of Men, HENRY/Prince of WALES* bemoans the loss of this bright figure saying “One that in hope, took up to topless height/All his great Ancestors.../Vanisht without the end; for which he had/Such matchlesse virtues, and was God-like made.”⁴² This unspeakable sadness

⁴⁰ Bishop Hall, *Epistles in the Six Decades*, in *The Works of Joseph Hall*, fol. 280

⁴¹ *Epistles in the Six Decades*, in *The Works of Joseph Hall*, fol. 280.

⁴² George Chapman, *The Poems of George Chapman*, p. 255

wrought by Henry's early passing is seen in funeral epitaphs and the outpouring of grief surrounding his death. A mere twenty-four hours after Henry's death the work *Elegiacall lamenting Poem for the Incomparable loose of losses of Henry our late hopeful Prince*, was registered at the Stationer's Hall.⁴³ The quick release of items in the printing press speaks not only to the importance of the printing press in this era, but the grief for Henry's passing as the future hopes of England were invested in his person.

On December 1st, 1612, funerals were staged for Henry in Bristol, Cambridge, Oxford and London, all lavish events. About 2,000 mourners were in the funeral cortege, 400 more than Elizabeth's funeral.⁴⁴ Sir John Holles eulogy for Prince Henry described him as:

A jewel whom God and nature only shewed to the world, and drew in again, we being unworthy to possess him, and with him every man seems to have lost his dearest...For good men of all his professions were welcome to him. He cherished the true prophets and graced his attentive devotion and example of their ministerial endeavors; those towards himself he rewarded with benefit and promotions. All men learning, countryman or stranger, of what virtue soever, military or civil, he countenanced and comforted.⁴⁵

The loss of this gift from God, almost unworthy of human possession, and one devoted to the service of his people, was a massive blow to England and Scotland. The lost imperium Henry represented infected the reign of James and his future heir, Charles. Both were given impossible standards to live up to, as in his death the myth of Henry was manipulated to whatever suited the writer or artist, for in his death he proved an even more formidable force than he was in life.

Francis Osburne described Henry's travel from Scotland to England after his father ascended the English throne as "so much *expectation*, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay

⁴³ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 280.

⁴⁴ Catriona Murray, 'Great Britaine, all in Blacke': The Commemoration of Henry, Prince of Wales, in a portrait of his father, King James', *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Winter 2011-12), 20.

⁴⁵ Douglas F. Rutledge (ed.), *Ceremony and Text in the Renaissance* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), 184-5.

in the power of any Prince merely humane, to bring so much *felicity* into a Nation, as they did all this Life propose to themselves as the Death of *King James*.”⁴⁶ The expectations piled onto Henry seemed to Osburne dangerous as he was but a mortal, and this type of congratulatory attitude towards him made it seem as if there were those looking forward to the death of King James so Henry might ascend. Despite this being published after Henry’s death, it speaks to the comparisons and perceived rivalry between Henry and James, even after Henry’s passing.

Sir John Hayward depicted Henry in death as a hero, as he could achieve great things for England and possessed esteemed virtues:

He was a Prince of a most Heroical heart: Free from many vices which sometimes accompany high estates, full of most amiable and admirable virtues: of whose perfections the world was not worthy. [...] In a word, he was the most faire fruit of his Progenitors, an excellent ornament of the present age, a true mirror to posterity: being so equally both settled to valor, and disposed to goodness and Justice, as he expressed not only tokens, but proofs, both of a courage, and of a gravity and industry right worthy of his estate.⁴⁷

Being free from the vices typically associated with those in the higher positions in society is a subtle message about some of James’s own behavior, and behaviors of the nobility generally. James is credited here however, as the ‘Progenitor’ of Henry, as James bequeathed upon him his own virtues.⁴⁸ In death, the mythology of Henry as a perfect Protestant prince continued to haunt James. Henry’s serious outlook made him a ‘better’ Protestant, as he worried not about worldly pleasures but focused on eternal concerns. This heroic heart and avoidance of the typical downfalls of one of his prestige and rank made him an exceptional man. His tendency towards justice and courage made him worthy to wear the crowns of England and Scotland, and he would bring good Protestant rule. He was depicted as a Protestant champion by Puritans, who saw

⁴⁶ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 65-6.

⁴⁷ C.A. Patrides, ‘Greatest of the Kingly Race’: The Death of Henry Stuart’, *The Historian*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (May 1985), pg. 403.

⁴⁸ Patrides, ‘Greatest of the Kingly Race’, 403.

James as failing them, “Henry the 8. pulled down abbeys and cells,/but Henry the 9. shall pull down Bishops and Bells.”⁴⁹ This exposition was written after Henry’s death, articulating how James lost control of Henry’s likeness and legacy after his passing.

The reactions following Henry’s death showed the unstable and contested nature of his life, as his image was shifted and manipulated, as memory proved a powerful tool. George Chapman, who received patronage from Henry, expressed his grief through his work *An Epicede or Funeral Song*:

The President of men; whom (as men can)/All men should imitate, was God and Man./In these clear deeps our Prince fish’t troubled streams/of blood & vantage challenge diadems./In sum, (knot-like) he was together put,/That no man could dissolve, and was so cut./But we shall see our foul-mouthed factions spike/(Markt, witch-like, with one black eye, the other white/Ope & oppose against this spotless sun.⁵⁰

As one who was challenged but still proved virtuous, Henry’s loss is clear. Chapman speaks here to the notion even when put to the test, Henry’s virtue continuously shined, as he proved so great of a man it was difficult to oppose this ‘spotless sun’. Chapman presents Henry as a man worthy of imitated and a representation of the sun, a common trope. The representational imagery he draws upon paints Henry as a man incomparable. He describes Henry:

Show here a Temple stood; a Palace here;/A Citadel, an Ampitheatre;/Of which (alas) some broken Arches, still/(Pillars, or Columns rac’t; which Art did fill/With all her riches and Divinity)/Return their great, and worthy memory:/So of our Princes state, I naught rehearse/But show his ruins, bleeding in my verse.⁵¹

Chapman conveys the hope Henry’s death would spur Protestant action or call to arms, inspiring others to continue their militancy to the Protestant cause. Henry’s death encouraged action and called English and Scottish Protestants towards more Christian and godly living, as England

⁴⁹ Patrides, ‘The Greatest of the Kingly Race’, 404.

⁵⁰ George Chapman, *An Epicede or Funeral Song* [...] (London: T.S. for John Budge, 1612), sig. C3^v

⁵¹ George Chapman, *An Epicede or Funeral Song* [...] (London: T.S. for John Budge, 1612), sig. C4^{v-r}

continued to be threatened from internal and external forces. This quick call to action against those who were not ardent Protestants went against the peacekeeping aura James tried so hard to cultivate, and his diplomacy, as he attempted to secure peace and avoid the horrors of war.

Impact of Prince Henry's Legacy

Robert Allene's *Funeral Elegies* argued if Henry lived James would have secured peace in the British Isles and Henry would take down "proud *Babell*, and her champion *Spain*."⁵² John Donne questions what Henry would have done if he lived, as his "reputation was an ecstasy/On neighbor States, which knew not why to take/Till he discovered what ways he would take".⁵³ He argues Henry "Was his great father's greatest instrument,/And activist spirit, to convey and tie/This soul of peace, through Christianity?".⁵⁴ He points to the belief Henry would usher in an era of peace, but it was impossible to predict what he might face upon his ascendancy to the throne. John Davies's *The Muses Tears* questioned if Henry would have "would have thundered loud, in War", and went on to warn James "For, as such wild Sheep, the Wolfe devours:/then, sheepish *Kings* must flee all *Beasts* of prey,/Or keep *Presumption* down in subject *Pow'res*,/ Lest long continence made it long for *sway*."⁵⁵ Donne portrayed Henry as James's instrument, under the control of James as he was the father of England and the head of the family. James may use Henry as his arm of war, and Donne here gives credit to James for controlling the actions and imagery of Henry, rather than Henry as opposing his father.

The loss of Henry was greatly felt, as James seems to have been deeply affected by his death. In an address following his death, James said, "that God in his secrete judgment had taken

⁵² Adrian Streets, 'Elegy, Prophecy, and Politics: Literary Responses to the Death of Prince Henry Stuart, *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2015, 95.

⁵³ Streets, 'Elegy, Prophecy, and Politics', 93.

⁵⁴ Streets, 'Elegy, Prophecy, and Politics' 93.

⁵⁵ Streets, 'Elegy, Prophecy, and Politics'. 95.

away Prince Henry, which he understood to mean that God was punishing his faults and sins; or might well be that He was chastising those of his people because many times God punishes kings for the sin of his subjects.”⁵⁶ God as punishing James for the sins of his subjects or even for his own sins did little to lessen the sadness James felt for the loss of his firstborn son. While James had another son and heir, Prince Charles, it seemed the loss of Henry was not kept to England alone, but bled into the continent.

The worry from those overseas by Henry’s death is seen by William Trumbell, a German, who reflected:

The news of the death of the prince of Wales has stunned us all/It is a very great loss to us Germans also. God preserve us for many such accidents and save for us the king, queen and the rest of your royal house, which we consider as a bridle to the Spaniard. It is to be feared that this change may affected Juliers where we fear great disorder if a remedy is not speedily employed.⁵⁷

Catholicism suddenly having stronger force because the future promised Protestant champion in England was dead was an international concern. The increasing tensions between Catholic and Protestant forces on the continent led to hopes of England aiding struggling Protestants overseas. His death was not only devastating to those in England and Scotland, but those who anticipated godly rule overseas in the English empire, and to those he might have assisted in Europe.

George Wither in *Prince Henry’s Obsequies* encouraged Charles to replace Henry’s war-like tendencies and become a Protestant champion. In 1618, it was claimed the English looked to “our happy hope, our Royal CHARLES the great”, to be another champion. At that moment however, Charles agreed with his father’s foreign policy.⁵⁸ Although Charles later publicly disagreed with some of James’s foreign policies, he never received the type of adoration Henry

⁵⁶ Murray, ‘Great Britaine, all in Blacke’, 23.

⁵⁷ Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*, 163.

⁵⁸ John Taylor, *A Brief Remembrance of All the English Monarchs, from the Normans Conquest, Until This Present*, sig. D4. Quoted in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 111.

did. Due to the suddenness of Henry's death and Charles's young age, he did not have the time or potentially even the personality to receive this type of adoration. The timing of Henry's death and further problems during the 1610s, particularly accusations of court corruption, plots and potential influence from Roman Catholics, only added to the criticism of James's reign. This meant the atmosphere when Charles became heir was not conducive for heroic self-presentation. Charles's inability to fulfill this role highlighted the traumatic nature of Henry's death, adding to the sourness of the last few years of James's reign, particularly given the outbreak of the Thirty Years War.

Prior to the drama of the Thirty Years War, England under Elizabeth hoped to remain neutral in disputes on the continent and in Scotland, despite consistent imagery of her as a Protestant warrior and champion of the cause of evangelicalism. Early on Jacobean foreign policy remained quite like Elizabethan policies, dedicated to the Reformed cause, which in the opening years of the seventeenth century was in danger from the Hapsburg Catholic threat. While there was continuous warfare on the continent, with conflicts in France, the Dutch Republic, and other territories, the level of destruction in the Thirty Year's War was immense, with the estimated death toll in the millions. Soon after taking the English throne James signed a formal peace with Spain, and remained on good terms with the States-General of the Netherlands, who sent gifts for the birth of Henry in 1594.⁵⁹ But the Dutch were unhappy they could not convince this English monarch to give unconcealed support during the Eighty Years War. While James aided the United Provinces, the fiscal responsibility shifted away from England and to the Dutch Republic, lessening England's financial burden in the fight overseas.

⁵⁹ Wilks, *Prince Henry Revived*, 240-241.

Peacekeeping Attempts

The religious dynamic of battles added apocalyptic sentiment to warfare, giving it a sense of urgency. In James's first speech to England in March 1603 he asserted his wish for peace in his realm:

I kept Peace and amity with all, which hath bene so far tied to my person, as my coming here you are witnesses I found the State embarked in a great and tedious war, and only by mine arrival here, and by the Peace in my Person, is now amity kept, where war was before, which is no small blessing to a Christian Commonwealth: for by Peace abroad with their neighbors the Townes flourish, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doeth increase, and the people of all sorts of the Land enjoy free liberty to exercise themselves in their several vocations without peril or disturbance [...] But although outward Peace be a great blessing; yet it is a far inferior to peace within, as Civil wars are more cruel and unnatural than wars abroad.⁶⁰

He discussed the importance of internal peace, avoiding of civil war, and emphasizes that like Henry VII he too brought forth a new dynasty and laid the groundwork for peace. He asserts his right to the English throne, and the necessity for union between the two kingdoms, as this would unite two mighty forces who were a Protestant front assisting in the conversion of Catholics on the continent, only resorting to violence if necessary in the fight against popish religion.

As Henry VII united two warring houses, so James united two Protestant countries and ushered in an era of plenty:

And therefore the second great blessing that GOD hath with my Person sent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a double form. First, by my descent lineally out of the loins of *Henry* the seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the Union of the two Princely Roses of the two Houses of LANCASTER and YORK, whereof that King of happy memory was the first Uniter, as he was also of the first ground-layer of another Peace.⁶¹

James's dedication to his peacekeeping mission is present here, arguing as Henry VII brought peace to England, James too would bring peace to Britain and then Europe. Prior to James's

⁶⁰ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 295.

⁶¹ Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 295.

accession to the English throne there was a rebellion in Ireland, and England was at war with Spain. He claimed he would not stand for “the increase and growing of their Religion, without first betraying of my self, and mine own conscience.”⁶² His dedication to Protestantism is clearly articulated, but there were fears when he ascended he would grant sweeping toleration to religious minorities. His cozying up to the Spanish via marriage negotiations between his son Charles and a Spanish Infanta heightened worry he was perhaps not as dedicated as Elizabeth was to a well-rounded Protestant foreign policy. The peace with Spain James secured upon his accession was not ideal for ardent Protestants, but there were economic benefits to this partnership. There was profit in maintaining good relations with Spain, as they had access to an enormous wealth of goods and were valuable trading partners. While there is certainly glamor to the mythology of Elizabeth as protector of Protestants overseas, it is important to note she engaged in diplomatic relations with Catholic countries and took seriously several Catholic suitors. In her death, some of the realities of her reign disappeared, and replacing them was the memory of a queen who was the savior for the Protestant cause in England and Europe.

Elizabeth’s Foreign Policy Legacy

Spanish activity in England under Elizabeth was both marked and noteworthy as Spain was implicated in the rebellion against Elizabeth in 1569, and Elizabeth maintained frequent communication with Protestants overseas in Europe who attempted to dismantle their Spanish overlords.⁶³ During the Dutch rebellion against Spain, England lent money to the States-General in the Netherlands, and in 1573 English merchants gave money to the Netherlands.⁶⁴ The 1574

⁶² Rhodes, Richards, and Marshall, *King James VI and I*, 301.

⁶³ Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (ed.), *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 158-160.

⁶⁴ Doran, *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, 163.

Treaty of Bristol temporarily restored peace between Spain, England and the Low Countries, but trouble was on the horizon.

Elizabeth aided Huguenot rebels in France in 1562, and in 1573 did not halt English volunteers from going overseas to assist William of Orange in the Netherlands.⁶⁵ In the 1585 Treaty of Nonsuch, she solidified a formal alliance with leaders of the Dutch revolt. King Philip II of Spain in October 1585 told the pope and Grand Duke of Tuscany his plans to invade England, leading to the landing of Spanish forces in Ireland in June of 1586.⁶⁶ These conflicts culminated in the famous 1588 Armada attack, with England and Spain remaining at war until James ascended the English throne. James quickly negotiated peace and restored trading relations, thus providing merchants in England and others tied to the global economy a chance to make a profit from this renewed trade.

While Elizabeth benefited from propaganda portraying her as a bastion of hope to the Protestant world, it was not financially prudent to engage in aggressive action overseas. While public portrayal presented her as a Protestant savior, she attempted to avoid war, and pursued peace whenever possible. This *realpolitik* was not uncommon, as disputes were not simply religious but often contained apocalyptic sentiment, as seen in John Foxe's work. This apocalyptic mindset was present in Protestant and Catholic consciousness, but it is Protestant consciousness we consider here. The literary culture of Protestantism meant increasing awareness of events overseas and struggles faced by other Protestant communities. Even as continued ideological fault lines cut through varieties of Protestantism, there remained a shared goal for the furtherance of the cause, although this was often harmed by political realities. James faced the memory of the 1588 Armada and his attempt at negotiating a Spanish marriage fed into

⁶⁵ Doran, *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, 189.

⁶⁶ Doran, *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, 189.

rampant anti-Spanish feeling, which only increased when compounded with fears surrounding the Thirty Years War.

Bishop George Carleton recalled the memory of the Armada in his sermon *Thankful Remembrance of Gods Mercy* (1624), “We are not come to that fateful year...utterly to overthrow the church of England and state...if a man with an impartial eye look upon these, though he be an enemy, though he be a Jesuit, he must needs confess that God was on our side.”⁶⁷ The prophetic nature and remembrance of the Armada had a long afterlife, and continued to influence understanding of international politics. Rulers, ambassadors and nobles were certainly keenly aware of these realities, although these finer points of diplomacy were often lost by blustery rhetoric and public portrayal of events.

James’s Peacekeeping Mission

When James came to England he focused heavily on his peacekeeping mission. One of his first acts was to sign a peace treaty with Spain, and in 1613 he mediated peace between Denmark and Sweden.⁶⁸ In a letter from Thomas Alabaster, an English nobleman and diplomat, to Robert Cecil dated November 7th, 1603, Alabaster commented on issues surrounding the peace with Spain:

I beseech your Honors favorable acceptance of my true assertion for no other respect carries me hereunto of the how honorable a thing peace is, and how much to be desired needs not to be questioned. But our peace with Spain will never be so beneficial to this realm in no respect nor comparison as it hath been as I think I can prove [...] If we make peace with them without liberty and freedom of Conscience or safety from their persecution, is to be considered how dishonorable for his Majesty and dangerous for the subjects [...] If we leave the low countries and they in time...come for his devotion, I need not say unto your Honor the

⁶⁷ George Carleton, *A Thankful Remembrance of Gods Mercy* (London, 1624), 119-47.

⁶⁸ J. Finlayson, ‘Jacobean Foreign Policy, London’s Civic Polity and John Squire’s Lord Mayor’s Show, ‘The Tryumphs of Peace’ (1620)’, *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 110, No. 3 (Summer, 2013), 590.

danger imminent to the realms, the Spanish ambition so well known to all the world considered.⁶⁹

Alabaster goes on to argue that there may be financial repercussions for the English should they conclude peace with Spain, as they would be left out of potentially lucrative trade. But, peace with Spain is depicted here as dangerous due to differences in religion. Even though James disengaged from war, and believed peace with Spain would make English trade more fruitful, already his foreign policy decisions were questioned.

Robert Treswell, who accompanied the diplomat who negotiated the peace with Spain, later released *A Relation of such things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the right Honorable Charles Earle of Nottingham, L. High Admiral of England, His Highness Ambassador to the King of Spain*.⁷⁰ Treswell's account detailed the peace treaty, and was quickly made available in print, attempting to portray the peace in a more positive light. In this he asked the English to:

Pray to the Almighty God to make his Majesty as careless of war, as he from time to time in his great judgement shall find peace to be necessary; his people and subjects ever obedience to all his designs and appointments either in war or peace, and his Majesty himself blest with long life, health and ability to undergo either, as it shall seem best to the divine Majesty.⁷¹

While clearly written from a biased perspective, meant to flatter the king and potentially sway the populace into believing this peace would benefit them, Treswell's work is telling as it hints at the already building anxieties regarding James's foreign policy. The appeal to following the

⁶⁹ Letter from Thomas Alabaster to Robert Cecil, November 7, 1603, State Papers 14/4, folio 146r. The National Archives Kew, Richmond, Surrey.

⁷⁰ Robert Treswell, *A Relation of such things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the right Honorable Charles Earle of Nottingham, L. High Admiral of England, His Highnesses Ambassador to the King of Spaie: Being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King for the maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great Brittain and Spain* [...]. London, 1604. As cited in Gustav Ungerer, 'The Spanish and English Chronicles in King James's and Sir George Bue's Dossiers on the Anglo-Spanish Peace Negotiations', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3/4 (1998), pp. 312-315.

⁷¹ Treswell, *Relations*, 42. Gustav, 'The Spanish and English Chronicles', 313.

goodness of the king reflects how James portrayed himself: as a wise and committed *Rex Pacificus*, who wished to bring peace to Christendom.

Despite Treswell's positive depiction of negotiations with Spain, Thomas Scott, an outspoken critic of Spain, produced two separate essays detailing the sins of Spain and why they were not to be trusted. His work *The Spaniards Perpetual Designs to an universal monarchy* described the Spanish push for "the advancement of their universal Monarchy...have been so happy in their endeavors in these last 10 or 12 years in divers parts of Europe."⁷² He described England's potential marital alliance as "it would be a far worse matter, if the Spaniard should conclude the Treaty of Marriage with England, for the reasons which every man may understand; for if the only Negotiations touching that Alliance, hath given the Spaniards time and means to subdue the best and greatest part of all Germany."⁷³ Here he references the outbreak of war in the Palatinate, and that indeed James should declare war on Spain on behalf of his daughter Elizabeth, and indeed for the past wrongdoings Spain committed against England. "By Treaties the English have not only got and gained nothing; but farther, all the businesses of themselves and their friends have ever gone backward to the worse: the Spaniards going forward always with a high look and a brazen face, and wisely making use of the faire fore wind of fortune turning their countenance of the English and their mind to their own advantages."⁷⁴

James oversaw negotiations between Catholics and Protestants in 1614 during the Cleves-Julich dispute, and although he was ultimately not successful in his 1618 peacekeeping attempts in the Thirty Years War, he proved himself capable in such talks.⁷⁵ The outbreak of war

⁷² Thomas Scott, *The Spaniards Perpetual Designs to an universal monarchy*, (London 1624), 2.

⁷³ Thomas Scott, *The Spaniards Perpetual Designs to an universal monarchy*, (London 1624), 4.

⁷⁴ Thomas Scott, *Certain Reasons and Arguments of Policy, Why the King of England should hereafter give over all further Treaty, and enter into war with the Spaniard*, (London 1624), A2.

⁷⁵ Finlayson, 'Jacobean Foreign Policy', 590.

hit close to home for England, as it was James's son-in-law, Prince Frederick, who was directly involved in the conflict. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) only temporarily stopped issues with confessional divide in Europe, and it was during the Thirty Years War when tensions erupted on a massive scale. A Protestant union in Europe heightened confessional politics, as the Holy Roman Empire was split into different religions and states. The Rhine Palatinate converted to Calvinism under Elector Frederick III and was close with the Dutch Republic as the two shared confessional interests.⁷⁶

Following the advent of the Cleves-Julich crisis, James initially mediated, but when Henri IV of France intervened, James offered to send in troops.⁷⁷ After Henri IV's death and a marriage treaty between the French and Spanish in 1611, James seemed to seriously consider the possibility of Catholic conspiracy abroad, and bolstered his position by making valuable Protestant alliances.⁷⁸ This led to his alliance with the Palatinate, where his daughter Elizabeth married Elector Frederick, and he signed a treaty with the Protestant Union in 1612. Fast forward a few years to the Bohemian Revolt in 1618 when Holy Roman Emperor Matthias had his Catholic successor, Ferdinand, elected to both the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones. Those in Bohemia wanted to have Frederick, a Protestant and James's son-in-law, rule over these territories. As tensions erupted, James assisted in the recovery of the Palatinate, as his daughter and Frederick were exiled, but there were certain constraints making a full military expedition improbable.⁷⁹ Frederick had been deprived of the Palatinate because of its seizure by the forces of the Holy Roman Empire. Parliament pushed to divert troops from the Palatinate, hoping the

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War* (Military Heritage Press, 1987), 22-25.

⁷⁷ Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 28.

⁷⁸ Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 29.

⁷⁹ Sharpe, *Factions and Parliament*, 151.

Dutch and English would lead a joint force attacking the Spanish Netherlands and then a naval attack diverting Spanish resources and harming their commerce.⁸⁰

In a petition on December 3rd, 1618 by Parliament James was asked to “speedily and effectually take the sword into your hand [...] against the prince...whose armies and treasures have first diverted and since maintained the war in the Palatinate” and asked, “our most noble prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own religion.”⁸¹ In return Parliament would give him subsidy as long as he passed “such bills as shall be prepared for your Majesty’s honour and the good of the people.”⁸² James addressed Parliament’s articulation of their freedom of speech saying, “We cannot allow of the style, calling it your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that you said that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us.”⁸³ The Thirty Years War and following foreign policy issues tested the king’s power, his ability to act as a peacemaker, and the limits of Parliament’s power. James’s action, or lack thereof, was noticeable as Protestants overseas were forced to convert to Catholicism.⁸⁴ This was endlessly commented on, as those on James’s side backed his policy, even though war was justified as Elizabeth was threatened. While James had not yet actively given support to the war effort, in March 1620 he allowed Archbishop Abbott to collect money from the clergy for Frederick V.⁸⁵ In June of the same year a 4,000-man volunteer regiment was sent to the Lower Palatinate.⁸⁶ James disagreed it was his duty to provide further

⁸⁰ Sharpe, *Faction and Parliament*, 151.

⁸¹ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 26-27.

⁸² Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 26-27.

⁸³ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1604-1688*, 27.

⁸⁴ Cust, *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 116.

⁸⁵ Finlayson, ‘Jacobean Foreign Policy’, 591.

⁸⁶ Finlayson, ‘Jacobean Foreign Policy’, 591.

assistance to Frederick, and instead attempted to achieve peace through other fashions, even going so far as to write to the pope.

Marriage Alliances and Parliament

Before and after the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, there were increasing concerns in Parliament about the proposed marriage alliance between Henry and later Charles to a Spanish princess. Charles travelled to Madrid in 1621 and returned home in March 1623 with no bride, much to the chagrin of James but delight to the populace. These negotiations were fraught with problems, as their extended nature gave more time to contemplate what this meant for England's diplomatic and dynastic future. The fear of this match was heightened by the Thirty Years War, and James's decision to respond to warfare by negotiation and a return to the status quo rather than deployment of troops to help his daughter and her husband. Even though James sent in troops and aid, the lack of aggressive action was viewed as a lackluster response to a dire situation. Despite the backlash against this proposed alliance, James maintained control of the throne, and the increase in Anglo-Spanish dictionaries in London in 1623 pointed to people preparing for an eventual Spanish match and potential arrival of a Spanish court.⁸⁷

Prior to the Spanish match, there were negotiations for an Anglo-French alliance, but this was rejected in favor of the larger Spanish dowry, and James hoped the Spanish match would mean peace on the continent.⁸⁸ The ongoing disputes between France and Spain left James in not only a difficult place regarding how he handled foreign policy, but also marital diplomacy. A match between Spain and England would assist in curbing a long-standing rivalry between the two, which was worrisome to France as they were locked in battle against Spain. One of the problems with the Spanish match was the length of the negotiations, as this gave time for

⁸⁷ Cust, *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 121.

⁸⁸ Cust and Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 111.

increased wonder as to what this would mean for England. At the heart of this proposed marriage was James's adamant opposition of Parliament meddling in his prerogative to control foreign affairs.

Without Parliament, it was not possible to raise war funds, and it seemed only a direct threat to England justified the need to actively engage in warfare. There was an increase in anti-Spanish feeling, seen by sermons against the Spanish. James responded by forbidding inflammatory sermons, as he was particularly sensitive about public disagreement with his foreign policy choices. The Bishop of London told clergy on James's behalf to halt references to Spain or other 'matters of state'.⁸⁹ Prior to Christmas in 1621 the 'Proclamation Against Excess of Lavish Speech in Matters of State' was published, where James warned his "loving subjects [...] from the highest to the lowest to take heed how they intermeddle by pen or speech with causes of state and secrets of empire either at home or abroad."⁹⁰ The proclamation against speaking on foreign policy decisions demonstrated James's concerns about public disagreement regarding his choices, as he and Parliament previously robustly disagreed on foreign policy.

While the Spanish match provoked an outcry, there was no outward war but instead internalized conflict, and increasingly public voices of dissent against the king. James needed the cooperation of Parliament and peers if he was to rule successfully, and as dissent was expressed in the public sphere, it was dangerous for public commentary to circulate against the king's preferred foreign policy. Press censorship was enforced through local cooperation but was often unsuccessful.⁹¹ These religious tensions were harmed by plots against James by Catholics, who

⁸⁹ Robert Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 28.

⁹⁰ Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621*, 28.

⁹¹ Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, Nov. 3 (Sep. 1998), pp. 626.

were viewed as loyal to the pope, making them dangerous enemies of the state. Those opposed to the Spanish match argued there should be increased protection for the Protestants in Europe, especially given conditions in the United Provinces. While militants were not necessarily in the majority in James's government, they were certainly a vocal minority, and potentially dangerous if given power. While there was not violent conflict in response to the Spanish match, the polarization of politics provoked an increase of news and public response when there was disagreement over the government's actions.⁹²

Popular Backlash

In May of 1623 Sir Simonds D'Ewes penned in his diary, "Daily more and more libels were dispersed, in which did plainly appear the misery of the discontented and almost daring people."⁹³ In 1621 John Chamberlain wrote, "God knows how it comes to pass, but sure men's hearts begin to sink, and fear that religion is in hard case as well at home or abroad", and two years later he said "many of our churchmen are hardly held in, and their tongues itch to be talking" about the Spanish match.⁹⁴ He references James's proclamation that foreign policy and other such delicate matters of the state were not to be discussed publicly. When Elizabeth intervened in Flanders and France, the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed her on October 31st, 1601, thanking her for defending the true faith, denouncing the pope as "that man of sin and Belial or Beast of Rome" who "sent Jesuits" or "rather Jebusites and priests of Baal" to seduce the English people, referring to Spain as having "bewitched with that cup of the whore of Babylon."⁹⁵ The fear of Catholic influence was strong, and the need to restrain outside

⁹² Cust and Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 139.

⁹³ Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 34.

⁹⁴ Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, 34.

⁹⁵ Richard Marienstras, (translated by Janet Lloyd), *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 250.

influence was viewed as necessary. In the 1620s there was an increased circulation of news, and masques on news appeared more frequently including: *News From The New World* (1620), *Pan's Anniversary* (1621), *The Masque of Augurs* (1622).⁹⁶

During the 1620's Parliaments there were rumors of bribery and secret Catholicism amongst the 'Spanish party', and debates in parliament continued about how England should enter the Thirty Years War.⁹⁷ The Commons presented petitions in 1621 on war and foreign policy, and then in 1621 and 1624 on parliamentary trials. This was previously presented as an attack on royal authority but was not necessarily what was happening, though there certainly was a push to expand Parliament's right to free speech and its ability to comment on foreign policy. The 1620s saw increased attacks on court politics, and when James pushed back on free speech and foreign policy, the Commons reacted by adopting a Protestation.⁹⁸

Proclamations in both December 1620 and July 1621 were issued forbidding "the excess of lavish and licentious speech in matters of state."⁹⁹ Archbishop Abbot spoke out frequently against the Spanish match, and only stopped after the king personally requested that he stop doing so. Sermons were further suppressed by 'The King's Direction to Preachers' in August 1622, in which they were told not to speak on matters of state.¹⁰⁰ A September 1623 proclamation revived the 1586 Star Chamber degree against unapproved printing, although attempts to stifle these publications were largely unsuccessful.¹⁰¹ There was an outpouring of

⁹⁶ Shohey, *Reading Masques*, 178.

⁹⁷ Sharpe, *Faction and Parliament*, 139.

⁹⁸ Stephen D. White, *Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the Commonwealth,' 1621-1628* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1979), 167.

⁹⁹ Fincham and Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I', 200.

¹⁰⁰ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, 115.

¹⁰¹ Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, 115.

support for Bohemia, as English Protestants gave thanks so those Englishmen who volunteered to fight in Europe. John Taylor described these soldiers as:

Where God with guards of Angels/doth defend,/And best of Christian Princes doe
befriend,/Where mighty Kings in glittering burnish arms,/And true borne
Britaines, worthy countrymen,/Resume your ancient honors once again,/I know
your valiant minds are sharp and keen/To serve your Sovereigns daughter,
Bohems Queen.¹⁰²

The same imperative and honor in this warfare, while going against James's push for peace, was further supported by preachers, including Abraham Gibson who preached *A Preparative to War*, soon following the outbreak of war on the continent.

Expectations of a Protestant King

Even though James provided material support to this fight overseas, there were disagreements over his chosen foreign policy. A war on this scale was hugely expensive, something James and his Parliament were quite aware of, despite differences of opinion. Parliament became increasingly bold about what it wished the king to do, a trend backed by the populace. James continuously expressed his anger over others commenting on his foreign policy decisions, as he saw this as something that was in his hands alone.

Through the Thirty Years War we are allowed a vision of what the English people perceived their ruler as being responsible for and what they wanted from them. This crept into notions of sovereignty, as seen through previously discussed disagreements on ideology and the king's prerogative. It was becoming clear Parliament was emboldened in what they expected from James, as the populace became vocal on what it wanted from their king. James's son Henry became the model for these hopes and dreams, as he was the future prince promised for the

¹⁰² John Taylor, *An English-mans love to Bohemia: with A friendly Farewell to all the noble Soldiers that go from great Britaine to that honorable Expedition. As Also The names of the most part of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Bishops, and other friendly Confederates, that are combined with the Bohemian part*, (Dort 1620), 2-3.

English people, the one truly worthy of the rule of both kingdoms. These tensions would not necessarily come to a head under James, but they allow a window into the nature of English identity, and developing collective consciousness. When interweaving the religious and political identity of the English people, we can glimpse their worldview.

Conclusion

While James failed to live up to these standards of a newfound Protestant warrior in the style of Elizabeth, a new outlet was found for these hopes and dreams as they were transferred to his son Henry. Despite James's careful handling of the Thirty Years War, his offering of assistance, and at times military support, it was still not enough to satisfy calls for war. It was during the Thirty Years War and Charles's Spanish negotiations we find James at odds with his Parliament regarding the prerogative of the king and foreign policy. While this story may seem as if the country and Parliament were disgruntled with their king, this is not the entirely true. James's ability to maintain peace and leverage Henry's representation to bolster and support his own is indicative of a king who was politically savvy, and aware of how to address the needs of the population while making sure to assert his own political agenda. By offering up his son Henry as a focal point, his military 'arm', he maintained his banner as a peacemaker, and allowed Henry to be a recipient of militaristic qualities. When Henry died, James faced increased pressure to provide England with another militant David, and his son Charles was simply too young to take on such a banner himself. While Charles became more militaristic following his trip to Spain in 1623, he never successfully built up the same militaristic mythology around himself.

The mythology surrounding Henry reflects the wishes of the English, as he reflected their identity, and was a patriotic focal point. His imagery as a Protestant warrior was like the imagery

thrust upon Elizabeth during her lifetime, and like Elizabeth, Henry's remembrance as a perfect Protestant prince only became stronger in death. This imagery haunted James particularly during the Thirty Years War as he was not the Protestant warrior wanted by the populace. Despite the sound reasoning behind his mediations and wish to avoid the financial costs of war, his peacekeeping strategies remained unpopular. He and Elizabeth both approached international politics with a *politique* perspective, as they put aside religious preferences and the emotions these struck and instead focused on political realities. It is important to note that during her own lifetime Elizabeth was depicted as a Protestant warrior, despite her marital negotiations with Catholics and her avoidance of war. Her legacy as such indicates a mythology that was thrust upon her, much in the same way Henry was depicted. Why James was never depicted in a similar manner relates to his representational performance, as he continuously imaged himself as a peace keeper in Britain, and clearly articulated his mission to be *Rex Pacificus* on the continent.

The tensions during the 1621 Parliament and the Thirty Years War were some of the most difficult years of James's reign, as he seemed at odds with the wishes of the populace and indeed his own government. Difficulties James faced within the court only exacerbated these tensions, but it is important to note he maintained control of his throne, and he received support for his foreign policies. While there certainly were those who wished for more active intervention and for Henry Frederick to ascend and lead England on successful military campaigns, James continued to command respect and ultimately pass the throne peacefully to his son Charles.

Conclusion. Remembering James and the Echoes of English Identity

James died on March 27th, 1625, at Theobalds House in Hertfordshire England and his funeral was held May 17th.¹ John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln delivered a funeral address lasting around two hours, drawing comparisons between “current obsequies and posthumous celebration that Hadrian gave in honor of Trajan.”² Williams continued:

After his death he triumphed openly in the City of Rome, In Image, in a Lively Statue, or Representation invented by Adrian for that purpose: so shall this Salomon of Israel doe at this time in the Statute, and Representation of our British Solomon. Truly me thinks....the remembrance is very lively [...] A breathing Statue of all his Virtues. This god hath done for Him, or rather for Us. For he hath made a lively Representation of the Virtues of Salomon, in the person of King James: so he hath done a like Representation of the Virtues of King James, in the person of King Charles Our Gracious Sovereign.³

Williams makes an association between James and Solomon, as both were men of peace, well educated, and dedicated to holy rulership. James possessed the virtues of Solomon, something God divinely planned, and James in turn passed these virtues to Charles, thus continuing the holiness of the Stuart dynasty. God doing this ‘for Us’, speaks to the representation James cultivated: he was a gift from God sent to rule the British. Williams described James’s providence, as James was repeatedly delivered from those who plotted against him, proving his place in God’s plan. Williams further described James as “constant, resolute, and settled...in point of Doctrine”, and his religious pursuits as “the only Discipline that ever agreed with the Fundamental Lawes of any Christian Monarchy.”⁴ James as an upholder of true religion meant

¹ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570-1625*, (The Boydell Press, 1997), 175.

² Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, 179.

³ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, 179.

⁴ Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of James I* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2015), 52.

he was a faithful Protestant who served England well, or at least that is how he is portrayed here after his death.

Williams's argued James passed his virtues to Charles, as Charles entered the realm of immortal kingship:

God hath provided another Statue yet to adorn the Exequies of our Late Sovereign. I do not mean this Artificial Representation within the Hearse; for this shews no more then his outward Body...But I mean the Statue which (beyond all former presidents of Piety) walk't on foot this day after the Hearse...A breathing Statue of all his Virtues...Though his Father be dead, yet is he, as though he were not dead, for he hath left One behind him most like himself.⁵

Charles represented the same virtues James was bequeathed by God as he became part of the immortal body of kingship upon his accession, taking his father's role.

Charles planned James's funeral and the following processions, as he was tasked with projecting the majesty and might of the Stuart dynasty, while also mourning his father. On May 7th, 1625, a procession began at Denmark House and ended at Westminster Abbey, with thousands attending the procession through the streets as a public display of mourning for James.⁶ Charles spent £3,000 on artwork following James's death to commemorate him. This money went towards Peter Paul Ruben's image of James on the Banqueting House ceiling in Whitehall, in an enduring and poignant image of James.⁷ Williams's sermon was printed following James's funeral, as well as other preachers' sermons mourning James including John Taylor and Francis Hamilton.⁸ The circulation of these sermons is important, for extended James's public representational performance through the written word, even after his passing. As seen with Elizabeth I and Henry Frederick, the memory and myth-making after death was

⁵ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 54.

⁶ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 47.

⁷ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 54.

⁸ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 56-7.

important, as it influenced opinions on contemporary happenings, and the legacy of the deceased became a malleable tool for propaganda.

Preachers delivering sermons honoring the life and legacy of James were left with a difficult task, as they commemorated his self-proclaimed representation of *Rex Pacificus*, while recognizing it was deeply unpopular after 1618. Charles was expected to be more militaristic in his foreign policy, so preachers had to honor James's legacy, while knowing Charles would likely go against his father's foreign policy. Phineas Hodson, an English preacher, depicted the two as working together seamlessly, "If Moses were a great Warrior; King James was as great a Peace-maker, I would I had not cause to complain, that the Israelites never murmured more against Moses...then Many of us against his Majesty for laboring to keep the Drum and Cannon from amongst us."⁹ Hodson argued Charles was another Joshua who ensured "Those of his own Royal blood be delivered from the oppression, which now they suffer", predicting Charles would be vigilant in the cause of religion and ridding England of those who went against his divine mission.¹⁰

The two ghosts during James's reign were his predecessor Elizabeth, and his son Henry Frederick. Despite the problems characterizing the last years of Elizabeth's reign, her memory evoked a powerful image of a Protestant virgin warrior who sacrificed her own happiness to ensure England remained Protestant.¹¹ This imagining of Elizabeth had a long afterlife and heavily influenced James's reign. Thomas Heywood and others wrote in support of the Jacobean monarchy and the legacy of Elizabeth, and this imagined legacy bled into Charles's reign.¹²

⁹ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 57-8.

¹⁰ Bellany and Cogswell, *The Murder of James I*, 57-8

¹¹ John Watkins, "Old Bess in the Ruff: Remembering Elizabeth I, 1625-1660, *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2000), 95-99.

¹² Watkins, 'Old Bess in the Ruff', 107.

Henry Frederick as the promised Protestant prince was another sore point throughout James's reign, as Henry was portrayed as the true inheritor to the glorious legacy of Elizabeth rather than James.

Elizabethan nostalgia was a consistent thorn in James's side, as he was continuously compared to his predecessor, often to his own detriment. This was particularly acute during times of war, and the desire for a king who did not shy away from defending Protestantism at home and abroad. This mythology ignored much of the realities of Elizabeth's rule, but this did not stop her memory from also haunting the reign of James's son and heir, Charles. This is not to say that James's public presentation failed him, in fact he was remarkably successful at times in weaving himself into the fabric of English identity. At the end of his life and his passing, we see echoes of the common threads woven throughout James's reign: his belief in his providential place in God's grand design, the growing patriotism of the English people, the place of Protestantism in popular consciousness, and the changing nature of English identity.

Providence, identity and patriotism play a critical part in James's attempt to portray himself as a truly English king. James and the English believed in their providential role on earth as God's chosen people, giving them a sense of divine mission, and in James's case, His chosen conduit to bring His glory to earth. James's sense of providence is clear upon his entry to England, as he arrived with the goal of unifying Scotland and England under one common banner, bringing together two Protestant states to stymie the rising tide of Catholicism. There was a personal union as James was the ruler of both countries, but James's wish for a 'perfect' union is seen in his creation of a new flag, his style as 'King of Great Britain', and attempts to convince Scottish and English ruling bodies to enact necessary changes to unite the two countries as one. He brought to the throne two healthy, legitimate male heirs, securing the continuation of

a Protestant Stuart dynasty. In his coronation ceremonies and processions he highlighted his Tudor heritage, and that like Henry VII he was the founder of a glorious dynasty, ushering in a new Golden Age.

In linking himself with the Tudor line, James not only proved his right to the throne but connected himself with figures and their accompanying representational strategies familiar to the English populace. This was important in his transition to the English throne as he had to prove his 'Englishness', and that even though he was also King of Scotland he would treat his new English subjects as his own. While his attempts to unite England and Scotland through a 'perfect' union failed, England and Scotland were both united under his personage, so there was a personal union in effect. While James employed carefully crafted imagery during his arrival to England in 1603, it was truly in 1605 when he was united to England in a meaningful sense through the Gunpowder Plot.

The Gunpowder Plot provides clear imagery of James's sense of his providence, as he was delivered multiple times from outside threats, not just in 1605 but in the Bye/Main Plot and the Gowrie Conspiracy. The discovery and prevention of the Gunpowder Plot proved to James his divine sense of purpose as the king of England, and made him English in a way which he previously failed in achieving. The inclusion of prayers in remembrance for the delivery of the Gunpowder Plot provided his subjects of a yearly reminder of the dangers he faced alongside Parliament and other members of the English government. The popular response to the Gunpowder Plot was massive, as it fit within popular consciousness of the glories of England, in the same manner 1588 did. James further articulated his sense of providence through his self-presentation as Solomon and Constantine, and his continuation of Elizabeth's legacy and his focus on maintaining Protestantism in England. James believed it was his providential mission to

be a peacemaker for England and Scotland, and to bring this peace to Christendom as *Rex Pacificus*. As previously detailed, this was at odds with certain factions of Parliament and the populace, who believed it England's place to bring war to Europe in the name of Protestantism. Henry Frederick was portrayed as the true inheritor of Elizabeth's legacy, the prince who was promised to the people as he would surely lead them to glory. James's sense of his providence influenced his public presentation, decisions regarding foreign policy, and his mission as *Rex Pacificus*.

The reverence for common law and fear of England being subsumed under Britain reflect important facets of English identity as expressed in plays, songs, writings and other forms of cultural expression: attachment to their history, legal system, and the name England. The immediate reaction to the Gunpowder Plot and connections made to 1588 created even stronger pride in England and being English. The centrality of Protestantism was seen further in James imagining himself as previous Biblical heroes and kings, including Solomon, Constantine and David. He drew upon tropes Elizabeth used, meaning there was consistent imagery between himself and his predecessor, as these publicly articulated commonalities gave him a place within English history and therefore popular consciousness.

James threatened English identity in certain of his interactions with Parliament, as its sense of their role and place in English history was changing. Parliament played a critical role during the English Reformations, and was important in securing James a place on the English throne, as members envisioned themselves as kingmakers. James's belief in divine right absolutism threatened Parliamentary identity, and as a representation of the English, this threatened English identity. Where James succeeded in making his legacy part of English identity was through his son, Henry Frederick. Henry reflected how the English saw themselves,

as he was the living embodiment of a Protestant warrior and the future King of Great Britain.

Henry's death at an early age did not erase his place in imagined English identity, as he became a mythologized hero, taken too soon from the English as their patriotic hero.

English patriotism and sense of pride in the country is perhaps the defining hallmark of the Tudor and Stuart era. Protestantism became fully embedded into the English sense of self, as 1588 and 1605 became two of the most memorable events in early modern England. James struggled to find his place in this patriotic scheme, where we find him at his most successful is his entry to England, the Gunpowder Plot, and his son Henry Frederick. His presentation as *Rex Pacificus*, the Thirty Years War, and his battles over the royal prerogative with Parliament are examples of him failing to live up to English expectations of their ruler. English patriotism expressed itself in reaction to the arrival of the Scots on English soil, which James attempted to mitigate through representing himself as an extension of the Tudor legacy.

Mythologized versions of Henry and Elizabeth reflect idealized imaginings by the English populace of Protestant warriors. Henry's legacy was a myth built off propaganda circulating while he was alive, more so than a promising future heir was the future savior of Protestants in England and across Europe. Henry and Elizabeth both had this imagery thrust upon them, despite Elizabeth's often pragmatic and careful approach to entering into foreign conflict, she was depicted in her own lifetime and afterwards as a Protestant champion. The insisted continuance of this imagery is an important reflection of what the English wished to see from their monarch.

James's representation as Solomon and Constantine proved to be more fruitful than his presentation as *Rex Pacificus*, although much of the backlash to his representation of *Rex Pacificus* originated in the context of the Thirty Year's War. Another aspect to this backlash was

Parliament's increased vocalization of its power, which at times conflicted directly with James's views on his prerogative. Arguments between James and his government seeped into popular discussion, and discussion of foreign affairs became especially prominent after 1618. These disagreements highlight changing viewpoints on the role and power of the monarch, as Parliament wished to be involved in more decisions making, and while James robustly defended his divine right to rule, he was careful to not do so in a manner so aggressive that violent conflict erupted. Print culture allowed for circulation of opinions and ideas between the center, London, and other peripheries, meaning subjects were increasingly aware of happenings and now had an avenue through which to express their opinions on these happenings.

The memory and manipulation of the Gunpowder Plot is perhaps the clearest expression of patriotism, as there was a unique sense of pride in the country, belief in England's providential and an enduring legacy of 1605. James continually attempted to connect himself with English history, and provided robust support to the English church seen in a variety of cultural expressions, beautification campaigns, and the Hampton Court Conference. As a devout Protestant with healthy children who were raised Protestant, he continued the legacy of the English Reformation. He received public backlash for his self-portrayal as *Rex Pacificus*, particularly during the Thirty Years War, but it is important to note this backlash was not intense enough to see him ousted from the throne. Henry Frederick became the recipient of patriotic pride, as his virtues were widely praised and he was predicted to be a Protestant warrior and the one to continue the glorious legacy of Elizabeth.

James ascended the English throne at a transitional moment, as the English empire was growing, print culture was becoming increasingly important and Europe was increasingly embroiled in internal conflicts. The exercise of power as an English monarch was dependent

upon a successful public image and a representational performance which asserted the authority of the monarch while also courting public opinion. Protestantism became fully embedded into English society during the reign of Elizabeth, and its unique origins gave the English monarch increased ecclesiastical powers, and along with this heightened scrutiny of the monarch's actions. James brought with him the baggage of his Scottish rule, as seen in his insisted articulation of his prerogative and his continued push for peace despite the popular backlash he received. Despite these tribulations, he avoided outright chaos during this reign, which was nothing short of admirable given the state of affairs in Europe during his reign.

Victorian writers postulated it was during the Tudor era the nation was truly formed, due predominately to outside threats from strong foreign powers, the English Reformations, and a stronger bond with the monarch.¹³ James inherited a country steeped in Protestantism, and at the end of his reign it was assumed future English kings would be Protestant, and in 1688 this became an absolute necessity. The implementation of the Protestant calendar, expanding overseas empire, and closer connection between the center and peripheries brought the English together in a new fashion. While James was on the periphery of Englishness, he focused an immense amount of effort during his English rule on merging himself into the cultural and social fabric of English society. James presented himself as England's true and undoubted ruler, using his court and printing press to further his representational strategies.¹⁴

Did James prove his Englishness through his representational performance? In many ways, he failed in this mission. His son Henry became the focus of these idealized portrayals, his court was frequently depicted as place of licentiousness and corruption, his proposed Spanish

¹³ Adrian, *Local Negotiations in English Nationhood*, 2.

¹⁴ Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 16-17.

match was wildly unpopular and his providential belief in his role as *Rex Pacificus* received criticism following the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. In understanding and unpacking the legacy, representation, and rule of James it is critical to note the successes he had. He was warmly received by the English upon his entry, was threatened alongside Parliament in 1605, honored the legacy of Elizabeth, and gave England two healthy male heirs. Remembrance of James is often lost as he stands between the Golden Age of Elizabeth, and the destruction and devastation that was the English Civil War. While he never proved himself to be fully English as he ascended the throne a grown man and experienced ruler, he was successful nonetheless. Following Elizabeth's death, he successfully transitioned the Tudor dynasty to the Stuart dynasty, and his son Charles ascended peacefully upon his death, as he avoided the chaos seen at the beginning of the Tudor dynasty during the War of the Roses, and the internal breakdowns seen on the continent in the early modern era. Although he might not be the desired Protestant prince or perhaps the most glamorous ruler in English history, his representational performance and the changes in English identity during his rule are worthy of study, allowing insight into English patriotism, and later nationalism.

Historians have often placed the origins of English nationalism during the Tudor and Stuart dynasties due to the increasing importance of print, the uniquely English nature of Anglicanism, expressions of English identity through popular cultural mediums and growth of English empire. At the end of the Stuart line we see Protestantism go from the monarch's preferred religion to an absolute necessity demanded by the population and ruling bodies. The growth of English empire added to belief in the providence of England and its people, although this began to drift away towards religious attachments and more so towards the nation itself.

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